DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 165 918 RC 010 995

AUTHOR	Nordstrom, Jean; And Others
TITLE	The Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Energy Development in Southeastern Montana. Volume I: Social, Cultural, and Economic Investigations.
SPONS AGENCY	Crow Impact Study Office, Mont.
PUB DATE	Oct 77
NOTE	265p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$14.05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*American Indian Culture; American Indians; Business; *Community Development; Developing Nations; *Economic Development; Environmental Research; Guidelines; Industrialization; Lumber Industry; Natural Resources; *Policy; Quality of Life; Reservations (Indian); Rural Environment; *Socioeconomic Influences; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS	Coal Mining; Differentiation Theory; *Energy Development; Montana (Southeast); *Northern Cheyennes

ABSTRACT

Although there are no easy answers to the economic problems faced by the Northern Cheyenne in Southeast Montana, any economic development plans should stress long-term tribal self-sufficiency, serve community needs, and consider the Cheyenne culture. Differentiation theory is appropriate for understanding the local rural area and the special place the reservation occupies there, a place where people have been dependent on exporting extracted products and have lost any real control over their lives. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has mismanaged Cheyenne resources and unemployment on the reservation is high. Neither mere switching of export products nor total dependence on agriculture will solve the basic economic problems of the reservation, whose members favor the development of small businesses, certain industries, and coal mining for local use only. They feel that large scale mining would be both socially and environmentally harmful. Tribal members also feel the Cheyenne culture survives on the reservation, is significant, and must be preserved. Because community and economic development must proceed together, 13 guidelines help evaluate economic development options in terms of their compatibility with Cheyenne culture, concerns, and attitudes. Tribal participation is crucial to any economic development studies. Some tables, maps, and schematics illustrate points presented in the narrative. (SB)

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THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBE AND ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEASTERN MONTANA

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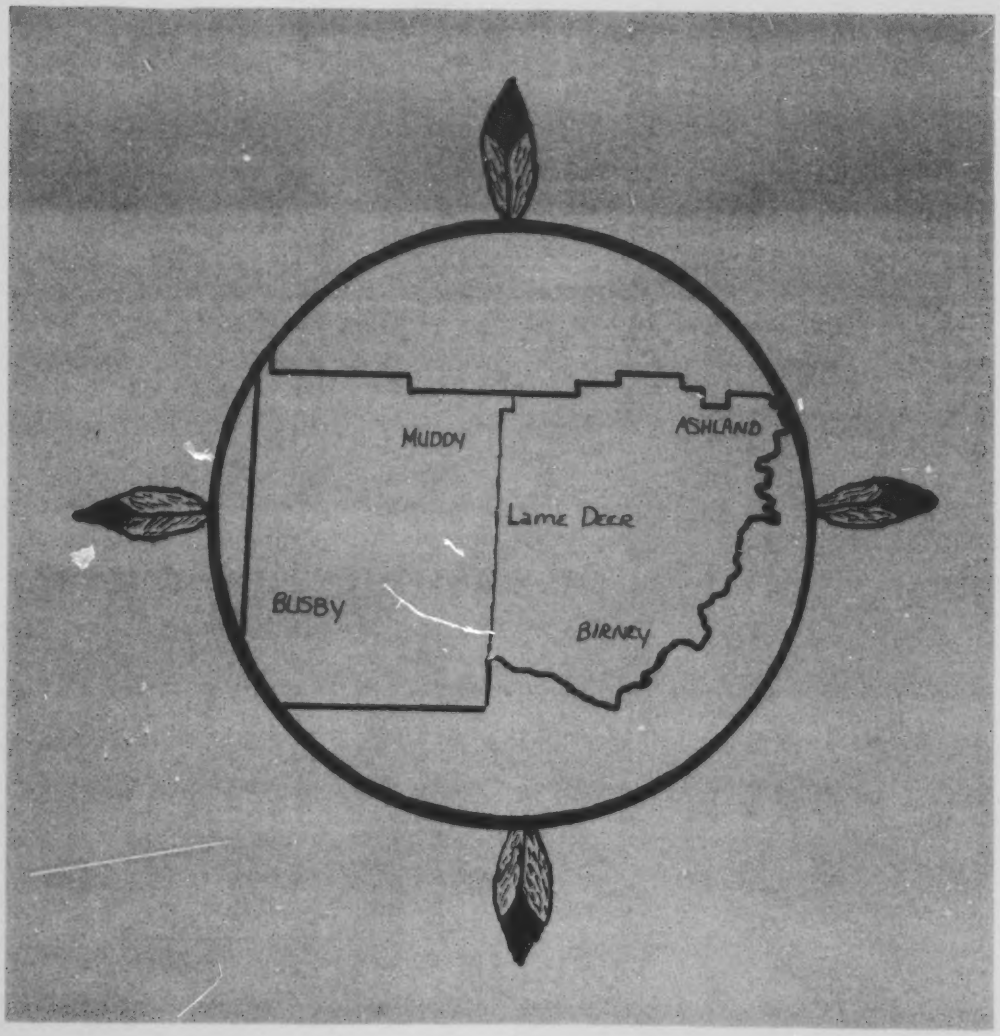

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OLD WEST REGIONAL COMMISSION

THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBE

AND

ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEASTERN MONTANA

VOLUME I:

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC INVESTIGATIONS

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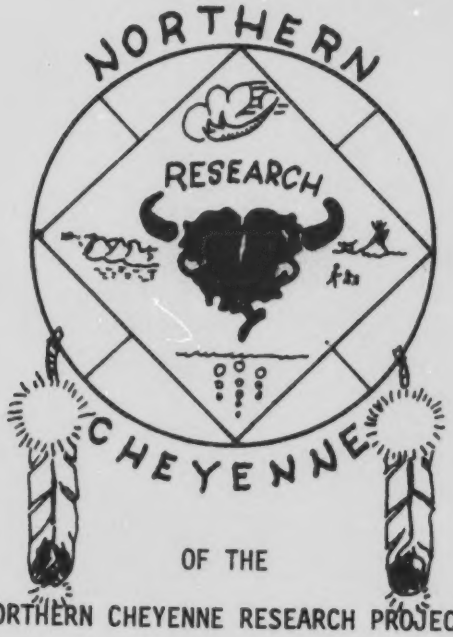

OF THE

NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESEARCH PROJECT

BOX 388

LAME DEER, MT 59043

RICHARD MONTEAU, COORDINATOR

A Report to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe

Prepared Under a Grant From

THE OLD WEST REGIONAL COMMISSION

JEANETTE STUDER, PROJECT COORDINATOR

OCTOBER 1977

Cover Design by JoAnn Sooktis

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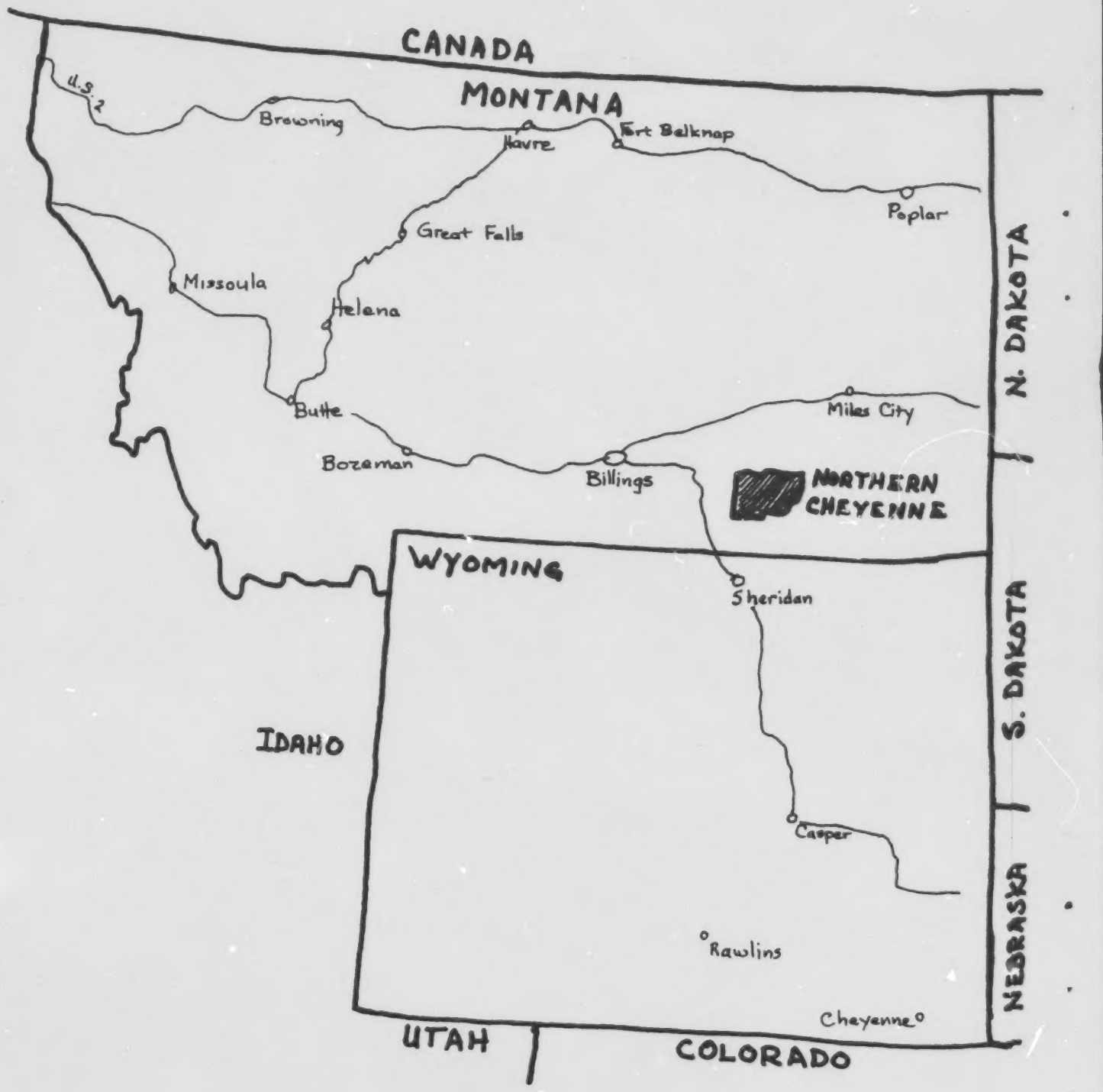


FIGURE 1: LOCATION MAP

INTRODUCTION

A. THE PURPOSES OF THIS REPORT

This report presents the results of a study of the social, cultural, and economic aspects of life on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The study was funded by the Old West Regional Commission, and is part of a continuing and larger study of the natural resources and people of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe being carried out by the Northern Cheyenne Research Project. The Research Project was established by the Tribe in 1973 so that the Tribe could have its own reliable sources of data about its people and land to use in planning for its future.

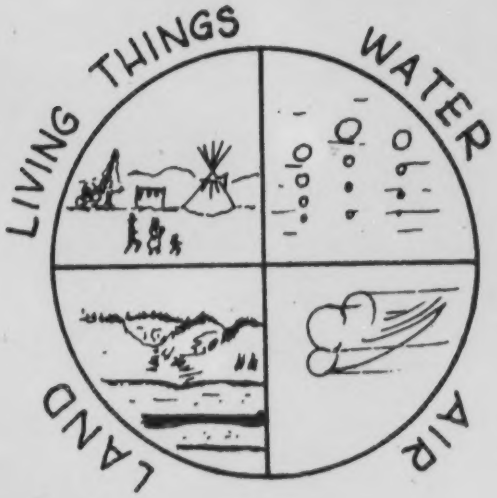
Most communities feel a need for information as they plan for their future, but for the Cheyenne people it is especially important. For one thing, they have been under a lot ot pressure in the past few years to develop their large coal resources. Their experience with the B.I.A. and the energy companies has taught them that only if they know the facts about each of their resources and environmental and social effects of developing them will they have a chance to control their future for their own benefit. The Research Project is trying to help supply the Tribe with such information.

The Cheyenne people also have a special need for information

in planning for their future because of their belief that all of life and nature are related to each other, parts of a larger whole. This means that Cheyennes consider how any future plans will affect their existence as a whole. In economic development, for example, they do not just consider how many jobs might be created, or how much money they can get if they sell their cattle or timber or coal. They value many things besides money, in fact many things more than money. They want to know what they may have to pay for economic benefits offered them, in land or water, health or happiness, family or culture. They realize that change in one part of life may mean changes in other parts of life, and they want to know what these changes might be.

The Cheyenne knowledge that all of life is related and connected is shown by the Cheyenne Circle (below). The land, the

The Cheyenne Circle



air, the water, and all living things are part of each other. This study has looked at the part of the circle which is living things, especially the Cheyenne people. The specific information contained in this report is outlined in section "C" below.

B. NORTHERN CHEYENNE HISTORY: "WE ARE THE ANCESTORS OF THOSE YET UNBORN"

1. The Fight for a Homeland

When Cheyennes make a decision about the future, they care about more than just how it will affect them personally. They think about how it will affect the Tribe as a whole. They care about the survival of the culture and of the Cheyennes as a people, sometimes more than they care about their own lives. That is why it is important to understand at least a little of Cheyenne history. It helps us realize how seriously the Cheyenne people have taken those decisions they have already made about their future, and why today they still seek wisdom to make decisions which will affect generations of Cheyennes yet unborn.

The most dramatic single event in remembered Cheyenne history is the long flight north from Oklahoma which the Northern Cheyennes made from summer 1878 to winter 1879 (1). It is a

powerful memory in Cheyenne consciousness, and a repeatedly evoked symbol of the determination of the Cheyenne people to live their lives in freedom.

Though the Cheyennes had experienced a very important moment of victory when they helped defeat Custer in 1876 at the Little Big Horn with their Sioux allies, they were subdued and sent south to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) shortly afterwards, partly as punishment for that victory. Confined there on the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Rservation, the Northern Cheyennes suffered and died from disease, malnutrition (promised rations were not delivered), and unaccustomed heat. In the late summer of 1878 the people decided it would be better to defy U.S. military authorities and risk death to be free once again in their Montana homeland than to suffer slow destruction as a people.

Under the leadership of Dull Knife (Morning Star) and Little Wolf, 300 Northern Cheyennes (including only 70 warriors) began their long march home, mostly on foot, repeatedly fighting or evading 13,000 troops. Reaching west central Nebraska, the people split into two groups; Little Wolf's band soon settled into winter camp in the Sand Hills, while Dull Knife's band continued north until it was captured in October and confined at Ft. Robinson in far northeast Nebraska. They were kept there for several months while authorities tried to decide what to do with them. Finally, it was decided they should be returned to Indian Territory.

The 149 Cheyennes at Ft. Robinson were told January 3, 1879, of the decision to return them to Oklahoma even though by this time a harsh Plains winter had set in, with temperatures falling to 40 below zero. The people refused to go voluntarily, whereupon they were denied food, water, and firewood until they might change their mind. Six days later the Cheyennes broke out of the stockade late at night, Dog Soldier warriors knowingly giving their lives to kill the sentries and bring the others a few moments to make good their escape. Losing half their number by death or wounds during the night, the Cheyennes covered 17 miles; when caught by pursuing troops, they fought back, and slipped away that night. For 12 days the survivors were able to fight off and elude their pursuers. Then 800 troops surrounded the 31 remaining people, firing into the pits the Cheyennes had dug until 24 men, women, and children had been killed.

The survivors and wounded back at Ft. Robinson were eventually allowed to go live with the Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge Agency. Later they were allowed to join Little Wolf's people who had made it to Fort Keogh (Miles City).

In 1884, an executive order set aside a reservation in southeastern Montana for all Northern Cheyennes. The reservation was expanded by another executive order in 1900 to its present boundaries.

2. The Fight to Keep Cheyenne Land and Culture

Though it was a tremendous victory when the Cheyennes finally were able to settle on their homeland, bought at such great cost, the people soon realized that they would have to continue to make wise and courageous decisions for their future if they were not to see their land and their culture gradually lost.

During the early reservation period it was the policy of white society to make the Cheyennes into independent farmers, to break up tribal identity, and to substitute the "benefits" of white Christian civilization for Cheyenne culture (2). Cheyenne culture was repressed in a variety of ways: Indian religion was persecuted, Indian students were not allowed to speak Cheyenne in white boarding schools, and Cheyennes who acted more like whites were favored by whites when goods and services were being distributed. It has been only through struggle that the Cheyennes have been able to keep as much of their language and culture as they have.

Cheyennes have also had to fight to keep their land, which they realize is necessary if they are to continue to survive as a people. White attempts to take reservation land began on a large scale with the passage of the Dawes (or General Allotment) Act by Congress in 1887. The purpose of allotment was

to encourage Indians to become farmers by "giving" them 160 acres of land, to break up tribal unity by making such land privately owned, and to take away any "surplus" land left over after allotment was completed (frequently this unallotted land was turned over to white settlers by the U.S. government). During the time allotment was in effect (1887-1934), Indian tribes lost 90 million acres of their land (3). Fortunately, allotment was not begun on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation until 1926, only eight years before the policy was ended, and so Cheyennes did not lose half as much land because of it as did other tribes who had begun allotment a generation earlier.

The second major way in which whites have sought to take over Indian land has been through the sale or lease of Indian land to white ranchers and farmers, often through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (legal trustee for the land). This policy reached its height in the years after World War II. The Cheyennes decided to fight this policy, and in the 1960's were able to reverse it and even to buy back land sold to whites. As a result, the Northern Cheyennes now have their reservation land base largely intact; nearly all the land is owned and used by the Tribe or individual Cheyenne families in trust status (4).

In this respect they have shown more wisdom in planning for the Tribe's future than is the case on many other Montana reservations. On those reservations a majority of residents are now white (compared to only 1 in 8 here), who live on land bought or leased from Indians in such a "checkerboard" pattern as to make it impossible for these tribes to operate enterprises (like a cattle ranch) requiring a large block of land. Having paid more for their reservation than other tribes, the Cheyennes are more intent on keeping it. There is an old photgraph of Little Wolf and Morning Star on the Tribe's stationery, under which reads the caption: "Little Wolf and Morning Star--Out of defeat and exile they led us back to Montana and won our Cheyenne Homeland that we will keep forever."

3. Contracts with the B.I.A. for Tribal Programs

Another sign of the Tribe's wish to control its own destiny has been the redefining of who should handle tribal programs and services to the Cheyenne people (housing, schools, timber thinning, police, and so on). Usually the B.I.A. provides such services for a tribe. In the past several years, however, the Northern Cheyennes have been contracting with the B.I.A. to provide many of these services for themselves, and currently the Tribe holds about 20 such contracts with the Bureau (5). This is the

largest number of contracts maintained by any tribe (many of which are larger than the Cheyenne Tribe) served by the Billings area B.I.A. office.

4. Cheyenne Legal Actions to Keep Control Over Their Land and Resources

A further sign that the Tribe is deeply concerned to make wise decisions for and keep control over its future is the costly legal battles the Cheyennes have fought in the past few years. These have centered around establishing or affirming tribal control over water, air, and coal resources.

a. Tongue River Water Rights (6)

In a state court decision in 1914, the Tribe was given 21st place in a priority list of water users on the Tongue River, the major source of water available to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe. Recently the Tribe has filed suit to establish legally its prior right to all the Tongue River water flowing through the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. This action is based partly on the "Winters Doctrine," according to which tribes are to have control over water passing through or arising in their reservations, and partly

on the historical Western premise, "First in time, first in use" (since the Tribe was in this area long before whites came). This challenge is important because, if water use in the area continues to expand with projected industrial and coal power plant needs, water requirements will likely exceed water supplies in a generation. The Tribe, looking ahead, realizes it must ensure an adequate supply of water for reservation needs, present and future.

b. Northern Cheyenne Leases with Coal Companies (7)

As noted above, allotment of land and B.I.A. leasing and sales of Indian land were the two main challenges to Cheyenne control of the reservation, challenges the Tribe successfully met. The third and most recent major challenge has been the attempt by coal companies to lease and strip mine large areas of the reservation for coal.

By 1965 the U.S. Geological Survey had completed a study of coal deposits under the Northern Plains. Coal companies found these deposits very attractive, and began to acquire leases and permits to mine throughout the area. The B.I.A., once again, responded to the wishes of those outsiders who wanted to use and exploit Cheyenne land, rather than upholding

the welfare of the Tribe, and arranged coal leases for 56% of the reservation surface with the Amax, Chevron, Consolidated, and Peabody Coal Companies. The Tribe signed these leases at the urging of the B.I.A., which advised the Tribe not to pass up such a "once in a lifetime opportunity" but failed to inform the Tribe about the extent or destructive impacts of the plans of the companies for large scale mining and power plant construction.

Only after the leases were signed did the Tribe realize that the leases were both illegal and exploitative. The size of the individual leases far exceeded that allowed by law, and no adequate environmental impact studies had been made. Altogether there were 36 violations of the law in the leases. When a new coal company offered a far more attractive deal for the coal in 1972 than had been arranged in the earlier leases, the Tribe realized it would be getting far less for its resources than were others who had more power or information in bargaining with the companies. The Tribe's talks with the company also made the Tribe realize the large scale operations coal companies had in mind, which, if carried out, would be a threat to the entire Cheyenne way of life.

Acting to preserve their land and culture as they had throughout their history, the Cheyennes not only turned down the 1972

offer but filed a petition (8) through their lawyers with the then Secretary of the Interior, Rogers C. B. Morton, to cancel the leases. Because the legal violations were so flagrant, Morton suspended the leases pending mutual agreement between the Tribe and the companies. The Tribe, however, refuses to deal with the companies further until they actually cancel the leases. At present there is a stalemate which the courts may yet have to resolve, but the Cheyenne determination to retain control over their reources is clear.

c. Tribal Ownership of Coal Reserves: the Hollowbreast Decision (9)

At one time it appeared that ownership of reservation mineral rights might lie with the many separate individuals who own the surface land, some of whom do not even live on the reservation. The Tribe realized that it would be very difficult to have any measure of control over coal development if coal companies could deal with hundreds of individuals, some of whom might be willing to sell their coal. The Tribe filed a suit to have its control over all reservation mineral rights legally recognized, and won its case before the Supreme Court in 1976 in the Hollowbreast decision.

d. Tribal Appeal of Permission to Construct Colstrip Units 3 and 4

Currently, large-scale stripmining is going on 15 miles north of the reservation at Colstrip, and at Decker just south of the reservation (the largest such open pit mine in the world). In addition, the power companies have plans to construct 12 coal-fired electrical generating plants at Colstrip, of which units 1 and 2 are now complete and operational. This has brought many whites into Colstrip, and this, in addition to the pollution from the burning of the coal, is seen as a threat to the Tribe. As a result, the Tribe has filed an appeal against the construction of units 3 and 4.

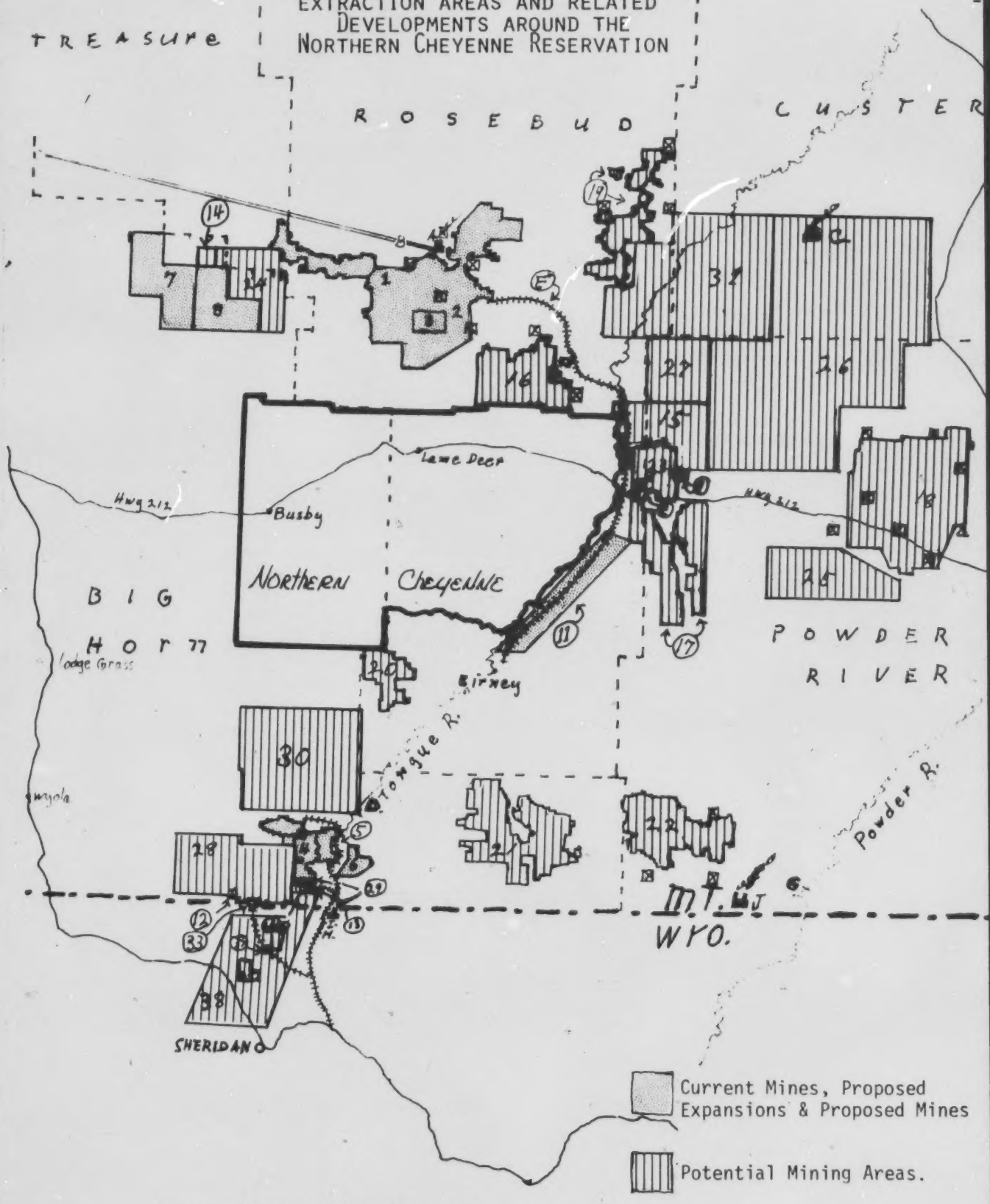
e. The Tribe's Request for Class I Air Quality

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe recognizes that the large-scale resource exploitation and industrial development which have been proposed for the southeastern Montana region may produce adverse environmental and social impacts on the reservation. As a protection against possible damage to the reservation from off-reservation development, the Tribe completed formal application to the Environmental Protection Agency to change the air quality status of the reservation from Class II to Class I (10). The request was recently granted.

Reclassification to Class I means that no significant deterioration of the air quality can be allowed and that local construction of industrial facilities subject to EPA regulations must respect the Tribe's right to clean air over its own reservation.

FIGURE 2

PROPOSED AND POSSIBLE COAL EXTRACTION AREAS AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS AROUND THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION



Source: Montana State Research Team of Northern Powder River Basin EIS

FIGURE 2. : LEGEND

CURRENT MINES - PROPOSED EXPANSIONS

1. WESTERN ENERGY: MINE AREAS A, B, C, D, E, F. POWER PLANTS #1 AND # 2. BLM LEASE AREA.
2. PEABODY COAL CO.: BIG SKY MINE.
3. PEABODY COAL CO.: PROPOSED LEE LOULEE EXPANSION.
4. DECKER COAL CO.: WEST.
5. " : NORTH.
6. " : EAST.
7. WESTMORELAND: TRACT II.
8. " : TRACT III.
9. COAL CREEK MINE.

PROPOSED MINES

10. NERCO (PP&L): SPRING CREEK MINE.
11. MONTCO-PEABODY: NANCE MINE.
12. SHELL OIL CO.: PEARL MINE.
13. CONSOLIDATION COAL CO.: CX RANCH MINE.

POTENTIAL MINES IN NPRB EIS STUDY AREA

14. AMAX: SARPY CREEK.
15. MONTCO: COOK MOUNTAIN.
16. GREENLEAF-MILLER CREEK: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
17. OTTER CREEK AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
18. PUMPKIN CREEK AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
19. SEENEY-SNYDER AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
20. CANYON CREEK AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
21. HANGING WOMAN CREEK AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA; STATE LANDS.
22. WEST MOORHEAD AREA: BLM LEASE STUDY AREA.
23. COALWOOD ASHLAND.

POTENTIAL MINE SITES WHICH MAY BE DEVELOPED REGARDLESS OF THE PRESENT LEASING ISSUE.

24. SARPY CREEK.
25. STACY-SONETTE.
26. FOSTER CREEK.
27. BEAVER CREEK.
28. LITTLE YOUNG'S CREEK.
29. CX RANCH EXPANSION.
30. TAYLOR ADDIT.
31. LAY CREEK.
32. PINE HILLS.
33. PSO MINE CURRENT OPERATION AND PSO MINE EXPANSION.

POTENTIAL MINE SITES OUTSIDE OF NPRB EIS, BUT CLOSE ENOUGH TO AFFECT NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION.

34. BIG HORN MINE (CURRENT OPERATION).
35. PKS-WHITNEY MINE (PROPOSED).
36. SHERIDAN ENTERPRISES, TONGUE RIVER (PROPOSED).
37. SHERIDAN-CARTER LEASES.

RELATED POSSIBLE COAL ENERGY DEVELOPMENTS.

A. COLSTRIP UNITS #3 AND #4.
B. COLSTRIP-HOT SPRINGS TRANSMISSION LINE.
C. GULF MINERALS GASIFICATION FACILITY: FOSTER CREEK.
D. HIGH TONGUE DAM.
E. OTTER CREEK GASIFICATION FACILITY 5000 CFD.
F. BURLINGTON NORTHERN NEW RAIL SPUR: BIRNEY-COLSTRIP.
G. MOORHEAD DAM AND RESERVOIR.
H. PRAIRIE DOG CREEK RESERVOIR (PP&L).
I. PP&L PRAIRIE DOG CREEK FOUR 500 MW GENERATORS.
J. UTAH INTERNATIONAL: WEST MOORHEAD GASIFICATION FACILITY.

OTHER.

PROPOSED STATE LEASE TRACTS.

SYMBOLS.

LARGE COAL GENERATING OR GASIFICATION PLANTS: MAP LOCATIONS A, C, E, I, & J.

TRANSMISSION LINES: MAP LOCATION B.

RAILROAD SPUR: MAP LOCATION F.

COUNTY BOUNDARIES.

The special concern of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe to protect its resources and way of life is shown by the fact that theirs is the first air quality redesignation to be successfully completed by any eligible governmental unit in the country.

5. Northern Cheyenne History and the Tribe's Need for Information

The history just reviewed should make it clear that the Cheyenne people wish to survive and prosper as a tribe, and not just as individuals. They have repeatedly been faced with the need to make decisions about their future when their survival has been challenged over the past century.

Today the challenges to the Tribe are more complicated and the dangers more subtle than ever before. The challenges are also of awesome magnitude. An example is the extent to which the reservation is ringed by possible coal developments (see map and legend on pages 14-15) (11). So the Tribe is being very cautious and is seeking detailed information before committing itself to decisions about which way to go. It is the hope of the Northern Cheyenne Research Project to help supply such information, even while realizing that it is only the courage and strength of purpose of the Tribe which can make the use of such information effective.

C. GUIDE TO THE CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT

1. Summary and Guide to the Chapters

a. Ch. I: "A Regional Perspective"

In this first chapter, James Boggs introduces an idea to help the reader understand why a local rural area like southeast Montana (of which the reservation is a part) has a hard time controlling the economic development which takes place there. He notes that the area has always been developed by outside money for the interests of outsiders. They have been most interested in the area as a place where a few unprocessed agricultural or mineral products can be grown or extracted, and then "exported" cheaply to the urban centers from which the development money originally came. In return, the local areas "import" finished and expensive goods from those metropolitan areas.

As a result of their economic history, then, local areas are dependent on extractive industries; cattle, coal, and wheat in this area. This has a number of negative consequences for the local economy. The urban areas generally experience economic well-being at the expense of local areas; for example, dependency means the local economy goes through boom and bust cycles related to fluctuating markets for its few products, bears the negative social costs of certain extractive industries, grows

slowly if at all, and develops in a way determined by outside capital rather than the wishes of local people.

The chapter presents some data to show that southeast Montana is in fact dependent on the export of only a few basic products.

One of the important implications of the chapter is that, since it is dependency on exporting extracted products and the use of outside capital for growth which robs local people of real control over their lives, merely switching from products for which the market is temporarily poor (cattle and wheat) to ones for which the market is temporarily good (coal) will not solve the basic economic problems local people have here.

b. Ch. II: "The Reservation in the Regional Economy"

Nancy Owens and James Boggs examine the special place the reservation has within the regional economy. They begin with some historical observations, first noting similarities between the original conquest of the Indians in this area by whites and the current "conquest" of the existing rural ranch tradition (shared to some extent by both Cheyennes and whites) by the coal companies.

They turn to an historical look at the reservation economy. They argue that Cheyennes established a number of successful self-sufficient farming homesteads in early reser-

vation days, but that these failed as the reservation became integrated into the cash economy of the nation as a whole and as people came to depend on wages rather than what they could produce for themselves. They argue similarly that, because the tendency in agriculture today is toward larger and more mechanized farms and ranches, agriculture cannot be the entire answer to the Tribe's need for an economic base; the Tribe's land base is limited, even if far more intact than it is for many other Montana tribes.

They point out that the Tribe's economic problems growing out of its incorporation into the national economy have only been made worse by the B.I.A.'s management policies with respect to tribal resources. The B.I.A. has always encouraged the Tribe to extract and sell its resources cheaply, or has fostered economic programs which are incompatible with the long-term trends within the regional economy and so doomed them to fail. Instead, the Bureau should have promoted the building up of a more diversified, self-sufficient, and stable economy within the reservation.

A number of statistics are given to describe the economy of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The most important facts which emerge are that most Cheyenne family income comes from wages (not welfare), that as many Cheyennes are working or looking for work (the labor force participation rate) as are whites, but that, because of very high unemployment rates (over 40%) and very

low wages, annual incomes for Cheyennes are far below that for whites. The authors conclude that the reservation occupies a special niche in the regional economy, due to factors such as those just mentioned, the Tribe's political history of being subdued, and the way minorities are treated in the operation of our economic system.

The authors then review the kinds of economic development options the tribe might consider in strengthening the reservation economy as well as some of the difficulties each would face. These options include establishing local businesses; timber, agricultural, and coal development; and labor intensive industry. The authors conclude with some general observations on tribal economic development, emphasizing that it should stress long run self-sufficiency, should serve community needs, and should take Cheyenne cultural considerations into account. They also note how difficult planning development alternatives is; there are no easy answers to the economic problems the Tribe faces.

c. Ch. III: "Northern Cheyenne Social and Cultural Considerations"

In this chapter James Boggs and Joann Sooktis, a Northern Cheyenne tribal member, look at some of the many aspects of Cheyenne culture which have survived despite repeated efforts by white authorities to suppress or assimilate the culture out of existence. A number of Cheyennes tell in their own words what these aspects of their culture mean. The key lessons of this chapter are that Cheyenne culture survives and is important to tribal members, and that an understanding of the culture is critical and must be taken into account in planning any economic development alternatives.

d. Ch. IV: "Northern Cheyenne Tribal Members' Evaluation of Economic Development: The Social, Cultural, Economic and Environmental Effects"

This chapter presents the attitudes of the Cheyenne people about alternative kinds of economic development which could take place on the reservation. The focus is on tribal members' thinking about what would be the good and bad effects of stripmining for coal on Cheyenne land. The chapter, by Jean Nordstrom, is based on her analysis of parts of a 1975 survey of reservation residents carried out by the Research Project.

To place attitudes about development alternatives in context, the author first notes that Cheyennes are quite concerned about the preservation of Cheyenne culture, and, second, that tribal members see the greatest community problems today as alcoholism, inadequate services, poverty and unemployment, crime, and communication (in that order). Any development options, then, should be compatible with important cultural considerations and contribute to the solution of the social problems people are most concerned about.

When asked what kind of development they would like the Tribe to undertake to improve the reservation economy, Cheyennes chose retail stores first, recreation and entertainment businesses next, then timber businesses, agricultural businesses, a small coal mine for local use, construction, and tourism (in that order). New stores are a popular choice because Cheyennes must now drive long distances for most things but gas and groceries, and because most of the stores here now are run by whites. The other choices seem understandable as well. But to understand why coal mining on a large scale is absent from the list, when it is clearly the Tribe's most economically valuable resource, the author looked more closely at what people thought of coal development itself.

She found that many people did anticipate good results from possible stripmining. These were almost entirely economic, such as more jobs, higher wages, and more services on the reservation.

But for most people the negative results of mining outweighed the possible benefits; overall, the bad effects of mining outnumbered the good effects two to one, and many people felt there would be no good effects at all.

Cheyennes felt stripmining would be bad for two sets of reasons. They believed it would have harmful social and environmental effects: it would permanently harm Cheyenne people, culture, land, air, and water. Cheyennes also felt that the influx of white outsiders to the reservation with large scale mining would increase the social problems the Tribe faces. The language and culture would be endangered, the newcomers would bring onto the reservation the prejudice and discrimination Cheyennes already experience in border towns, crime and alcoholism would increase, Cheyennes would lose control over their reservation, intermarriage would become more common, and the more affluent whites would compete with Cheyennes for jobs, housing, and services.

The chapter concludes with the development of thirteen guidelines to use in evaluating whether any particular development option is compatible with Cheyenne culture and attitudes as expressed in Chapters III and IV. The last guideline argues that development should be aimed at building a relatively self-sufficient reservation economy rather than relying on marketing reservation resources or manufacturing goods for export to the competitive off-reservation economy, and the author develops a proposal for what such a reservation economy might involve.

e. Ch. V: "Theory"

In this chapter James Boggs outlines the theoretical approach he uses in considering the issues in this report. He begins by discussing the difference between two major frameworks for understanding what happens when two cultures come into contact. The first is "acculturation theory," which usually assumes that, over time, a native or technologically simpler society becomes like (takes on the cultural traits of) a technologically advanced, urban-based culture with which it comes into contact. The second framework he calls the "differentiation theory," which holds that two cultures coming into contact may retain their initial differences, or even that new differences will be created as contact increases.

The author criticizes acculturation theory on several grounds; mainly that it simply is not an accurate description of what really happens and also is often loaded with value judgements about what ought to happen (it is assumed the native group will "melt," join the middle-class mainstream, or whatever). Also, acculturation theory inaccurately implies that two groups or cultures are two different systems, and that the only problem is that the native culture has not yet become a part of the more advanced culture with the benefits that that would alledgedly bring.

The author feels that differentiation theory, on the other hand, takes better account of what really happens in culture contact, by allowing for the retention of differences between the two groups

even while recognizing that they have become parts of the same system. This system is a "developmental system" made up of central metropolitan manufacturing sectors and outlying satellite natural resource sectors. Differentiation theory is thus more appropriate than acculturation theory in helping to understand why southeast Montana in general has remained a tradition-oriented area with its own values, and why Indians in particular have retained much of their own culture, even though both ranchers and Indians have been part of the national economy for over a century. Another point is that differentiation theory does not lend itself to repressive government policies aimed at getting Indians into the "mainstream" like acculturation theory does.

Jim concludes by arguing that, since economic systems can be geographically very large while social systems are defined by face-to-face interaction and so are necessarily much more limited in size, it is possible for very different groups and communities to all be integrated into the same political and economic systems and yet retain their individual social and cultural integrity. He feels that social scientists do not know how or even whether a change in the economic system of a community or culture will affect its religious, political or social life. He argues that Cheyenne social, religious, kinship and cultural practices and values have continued to maintain themselves relatively independent of the economic and political changes the Cheyennes have experienced in

becoming part of the larger political economy, and is optimistic that this can continue to be the case.

f. Ch. VI" "Policy Implications"

James Boggs and Nancy Owens begin by reviewing the kinds of concerns (from Chapter IV and elsewhere) any development option must take into account if it is to be consistent with Cheyenne culture and aspirations. They further emphasize that community development and economic development must go hand in hand; community development should not be seen as something to patch up or rebuild a community disrupted by extractive economic "development."

The second and longer part of the chapter focuses on the critical importance of tribal participation in any studies done on which economic development decisions are to be based. They point out that, even though the Tribe is faced with massive off-reservation coal development on three (and perhaps all four) sides of the reservation, it has so far not been able to participate in Environmental Impact Studies of those areas. This is in fact typical; local communities (white and Indian alike) simply are ignored when plans are made which could have potentially disastrous consequences for the delicate and irreparable fabric of local social life. Usually a local community only has the chance to comment on plans made for it by someone else. This is bad enough when it happens to small white communities; it is

even worse in the case of tribes, since the impact studies (examples of current EIS studies around the reservation are given) are done by white outsiders who cannot possibly understand Indian culture and life from the meager public statistics on which they base their analysis.

The authors conclude this part of the chapter with a number of helpful methodological guidelines for community participation in economic development studies, such as an EIS. First, what the existing community is must be defined. Second, the economic niche the community occupies in the larger economy must be examined, to know whether the people will benefit from, or be disadvantaged by, any particular development project. For example, it must not be assumed that local people will autmatically get the jobs created, rather than being overwhelemed and pushed aside by outsiders who come in for those jobs. Third, community roots, values and history must be taken into account in evaluating the good and bad effects of development. Fourth, community organization must be understood to predict development impacts.

It should also be noted, though it is not stated in Chapter VI, that even full participation in an EIS does not ensure a local community that it will be able to exert any effective control over the course of economic development in its area. The law requires only that EIS's be made, but not that their recommendations be followed.

g. Ch. VII" "Demographic and Economic Baseline Data Research"

This chapter reviews the data which were gathered and the analyses which were carried out by the Northern Cheyenne Research Project during the period of the Old West Grant. The work has provided the Tribe with current and reliable information for planning purposes and with a group of tribal members trained in social research techniques for up-dating and adding to this information to meet the needs of the Tribe.

2. Theoretical Differences Among the Authors in This Report

The reader who carefully examines the whole of this report will notice that the authors sometimes see the situation the Northern Cheyenne Tribe is in or the options it has in different ways. This grows out of the different theoretical orientations with which the authors approach the issues of economic development. Some of these differences are only ones of emphasis, while others are more basic; some are theoretical only, while others may reflect underlying differences in personal experience and values or in our idea of what the general role of outside whites on a project like the Research Project should be. It is only fair to the reader to make clear what some of these differences are, so that the information may be read while taking into account the particular orientations each author has.

Perhaps more importantly, it is only fair to the Tribe to make clear that social scientists differ among themselves as to what economic development really means and what developments are possible for a tribe to undertake. The Tribe should always take with a grain of salt the advice given by their outside professionals or consultants, or the latter's claim to expertise or prestige. Similarly, social scientists should always remember that the Cheyennes' experience of their situation may be a more accurate guide in thinking about what development options will really mean than the theoretical and second-hand analyses of their situation

by outside professionals.

Of course, the authors do agree on many points in this report. These should be made explicit before particular differences are considered (12).

All of the authors of this report believe that our national economic system does not, and has not in the past, provided equal opportunity to all. We all agree that the growth of economically developed or wealthy areas is, and has been in the past, made possible by the exploitation of areas that are now underdeveloped. We believe that this underdevelopment of some areas, including Indian reservations, and many rural areas such as Appalachia, city ghettos, and Third World nations, occur in relation to and as a consequence of the growing concentration of wealth and power in metropolitan centers (13).

We see historical evidence that the people living in these underdeveloped areas were once self-governing and self-sustaining. Indian tribes were self-governing and self-sustaining until they were placed on reservations that were tiny fractions of their original territory; Blacks were self-governing and self-sustaining before they were enslaved, and so on. Now these groups are relatively powerless and relatively impoverished; their economies are dependent on and responsive to the interests of the governments and corporations in the developed nations, and the people struggle to survive on a combination of the remnants of their damaged subsistence economy and whatever money they can get from

the low-paying jobs or welfare they are offered by the cash economy of which they have become an involuntary part. In the past most of the people in underdeveloped areas have been non-white, but as more rural areas in this country join the ranks of the economically depressed or underdeveloped areas, whites are increasingly included in their numbers. Of special interest to this report is that such white rural areas have often been underdeveloped by mining companies, including Appalachia (14) and northern Wisconsin (15).

We know that many people will argue that our economic system has resulted in a higher material standard of living for everyone. We agree that the basic material living standard has increased for most Americans, but we note also that, relatively speaking, the gap between rich and poor has not decreased substantially or has not decreased at all (16). While the majority of people may be materially better off today than they were a hundred years ago, the "haves" are still relatively much better off than the "have nots." Furthermore, the "have nots" of underdeveloped areas have generally suffered socially and politically in that they have lost their powers of self-government and as a result have lost considerable self-esteem. In evaluating historical change, as well as in evaluating future development alternatives, the social and political effects of becoming underdeveloped must be weiged against the possible benefits of

an at least superficially increased material standard of living.

The authors of this report are in substantial agreement on the above points. They also agree more specifically that the Northern Cheyenne Reservation occupies an underdeveloped niche, though they do not agree on the details of what underdevelopment really is or means for the Cheyenne future. But clearly, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe was forced to abandon its former self-sufficient way of life. Its traditional form of government as well as many of its social and religious ceremonies and practices were abolished under force. The taking of Cheyenne land for non-Indian use brought economic, social, cultural, political and religious disruption of enormous proportions to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe. The Tribe has continued to fight steadfastly on to regain a measure of economic self-sufficiency, political sovereignty,and cultural integrity , and these guide it in its evaluation of economic development alternatives.

The authors of this report are in full agreement that the Tribe must try to become more economically self-sufficient and politically sovereign to protect its culture, and that economic development possibilities ought to be thought about in terms of how they will affect those goals. However, because they have some disagreements about what it means to say the Tribe is in an "underdeveloped niche," they also disagree in some ways about what development possiblities are really open to the Tribe, and

what they would mean for Cheyenne life if they were possible. Examples of the different approaches taken by the authors follow. (We have named the authors responsible for each chapter so the reader will know who wrote it. Then the reader can take the author's approach into account in evaluating the chapter, and can also know which author to contact for more information or to make comments.)

James Boggs believes it is possible in our society for any particular group to change its position in the economic hierarchy without making any basic change in our overall economic system. He points out that Indian tribes have an advantage in economic development over the ghetto poor in that Indians do own valuable resources such as land, timber, and minerals. The problem he sees is that these resources, and even the resources of Indian labor and certain aspects of Indian culture, have been exploited by white interests rather than developed by and for the use of the Tribe. In this light the Tribe faces two problems. One is how to change the pattern of economic relationships it has been trapped in, and the other is how to do this while maintaining and strengthening its native culture and ways of life.

Jim thinks that these issues are related. He thinks that the greatest threat to the continuation of the Northern Cheyenne way of life has been its unsought integration into the white political economy of this area with little tribal control over how this integration took place. He is hopeful that the Tribe can

use its currently increasing powers of self-determination and more effective control over its resources to both improve its economic position and to maintain and strengthen its valued traditions. With a more secure economic base under Northern Cheyenne control the Tribe can begin to determine the nature and extent of its participation in the larger political economy of this area in ways that will promote its own interests and values.

Bruce Nordstrom, husband of Jean Nordstrom has contributed substantially to this report through editorial comments and general discussion with the authors. He agrees with Jean that the way people earn a living (how their economy is organized) has a very powerful effect on how people live the rest of their lives, and that it is very unlikely a society can experience economic change without an accompanying change in all its other institutions as well. Since he believes that the values on which the white economic system is based are fundamentally incompatible with Cheyenne values, he feels that Cheyennes would most likely not be able to participate completely and effectively in the non-Indian economic system without undermining Cheyenne values and social life.

He feels, further, that Indians have been purposely underdeveloped by whites so they can use and exploit Indian resources and labor; therefore, whites will tend not to allow Cheyennes to become an equal part in the white economy even if Cheyennes

were willing to give up their culture and "become white." He suggests that if Cheyennes wish to protect their culture and enlarge Cheyenne control over their lives, their best strategy might be to withdraw as much as possible from their present dependency and reliance on the non-Indian economy, and develop their economic self-sufficiency to the fullest possible extent.

Nancy Owens believes that increased self-sufficiency is possible and desirable, and that it will have important social, cultural, economic, and political benefits. On the other hand, she is pessimistic that it will be successful enough to provide the kind of income and consumer choice that tribal members have come to want and expect. Therefore, she agrees with Jean Nordstrom (Ch. IV) that realistically any moves toward tribal self-sufficiency in basic needs such as housing, fuel, and food should continue to be accompanied by the export of cattle and timber resources to provide cash income, some continuation of government grants in the immediate future to provide jobs, and efforts to establish tribal businesses and to enable tribal members to begin individual businesses. Jean and Nancy thus share a middle ground between Jim and Bruce with respect to the general econommic development options they would suggest the Tribe might best consider.

D. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much of this data on the reservation economy and the Cheyenne people presented and analyzed in this report was collected, and

often coded, by people other than the authors of this report. We would like to acknowledge and thank them here, for without their good work this report would not have been possible.

Field interviewers for the 1975 Household Survey included Nelson Tallbull, Sr., Rita Bighead, Barbara Brady, Maria Spotted Wolf, Roberta Peppers, Elva Fisher, Darlene Bement, Richard Roundstone, and Ervin Small. They will be glad to know that the information they worked so hard to gather is finally proving useful to the Tribe.

Census takers for the 1976 Tribal Census Determination Project included Nelson Tallbull, Sr., Pearl Youngbear, Dorothy Jackman, Wanda Russell, Elva Killsontop, and Grace Bearquiver. It is thanks to their hard work that nearly every home on the reservation was reached, and that the design of the census is now being used as a model for other tribes wishing to conduct their own census.

We wish to thank Suzanne Trusler for her good work in convincing reservation businesses to cooperate with the Business Survey and for gathering the data from them. We are grateful to Pat Littlewolf for helping to code the data from the Public Agency Survey.

It has been very important to understand some of Cheyenne culture to help us make informed suggestions about economic development. We wish to thank those many people who have contributed to this understanding.

The Old West Regional Commission also funded a 1977 Household Survey which is presently being analyzed by the Research Project. It partly updates information from the 1975 Survey,

but also includes a number of questions from various tribal programs to meet their information needs, and a number of other important questions as well. Only preliminary results are available, and so information from it does not show up directly in this report. However, the survey interviewers have helped in understanding some of the issues raised in this report. We wish to thank the interviewers: Nelson Tallbull, Sr., the late Fred Medicine Bull, Sr., Agnes Killsontop, Charlene Alden, Ruth Shoulderblade, Wanda Russell, Dorothy Jackman, Elva Killsontop, Florence Whiteman, Barbara Brady, June Guavera, and Maria Spotted Wolf. Agnes, Charlene, Joann Sooktis, and Susie Medicine Elk have also been responsible for compiling the 1977 survey results thus far.

Thanks are due to a number of other people as well. Pat LIttlewolf has often listened and given us suggestions when we have had a problem or were unsure how what we were doing might affect or be interpreted by the local community. Both Ruth Shoulderblade and Joann Sooktis began as secretaries, but both have helped much more than their official position might indicate. Ruth helped code the 1975 Survey results, did interviews for the 1977 Survey, and developed codes for the 1977 survey analysis, as well as helping in many other ways. Joann has given much help in cultural and other work, as well as helping to write this report. Rhoda Glenmore has done a good job keeping all our financial records and accounts in order. Rubie Sooktis has been very important in helping us understand culture and life

here, as has Wanda Small, in our conversations with each of them.

We would like to thank Richard Monteau, director of the Research Project, and Jeannette Studer of the Old West Regional Commission, for their support of our work.

Finally, we thank all the many unnamed people who have helped us, including the hundreds who generously and patiently responded to the requests of the interviewers and census takers for information, the many tribal program staff people we have worked with, and the past and present Tribal Councils and their president, Allen Rowland. Without their cooperation and support this report would not have been possible.

Jean Nordstrom
Principal Investigator

FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION

(1) See John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, Cheyenne Memories (Lincoln: U. of Nebraska Press, 1972), Ch. 14: Howard Fast, The Last Frontier (NY: Crown Publishers, 1941); E. Adamson Hoebel, The Cheyennes (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), pp. 2-3; Ralph K. Andrist, The Long Death (NY: Collier, 1969), pp. 320-330; George Bird Grinnell, The Fighting Cheyennes (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 2nd Edition, pp. 398-428; Tom Weist, A History of the Cheyenne People (Billings: Montana Council for Indian Education, 1977).

(2) See Chapters II and III in this report for more details.

(3) D'Arcy McNickle, The Indian Tribes of the United States (NY: Oxford U. Press, 1962), pp. 46-51.

(4) Northern Cheyenne Research Project, The Northern Cheyenne Air Quality Redesignation Report and Request (Lame Deer, Montana, 1977), Vol. I, p. 4-18.

(5) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 3-11.

(6) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 3-13 and 3-14.

(7) This section is based on information from James P. Boggs, a co-author of this report.

(8) Ziontz, Pirtle, Morisset and Ernstoff, Attorneys for the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, Petition of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe to Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Concerning Coal Leases and Permits on Their Reservation. Volume I: Petition and Legal Analyses. Submitted January 7, 1974, to the Secretary of the Interior.

(9) Northern Cheyenne Research Project, The Northern Cheyenne Air Quality Redesignation Report and Request (Lame Deer, Montana, 1977), Vol. I, p. 3-13.

(10) Ibid. (entire document)

(11) Map prepared by James Boggs from information supplied by the Northern Powder River Basin EIS State Team.

(12) The rest of this section is based on a memorandum by Nancy Owens.

(13) See Andre Gunder Frank's Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1969) and his Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1967). Also see Joseph G. Jorgensen's "Indians and the Metropolis," in Waddell and Watson (eds.), The American Indian in Urban Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), and "The Neocolonial Reservation Context" in his The Sun Dance Religion (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 89-145.

(14) Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1963).

(15) Al Gedicks, Kennecott Copper Corporation and Mining Development in Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin: Community Action on Latin America, 1973).

(16) David M. Gordon, el., Problems in Political Economy (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Co., 1971), pp. 237-244.

CHAPTER I

A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE*

by James P. Boggs

A. A WAY TO LOOK AT ECONOMICS IN TERMS OF GEOGRAPHY

1. Cities as Focal Points for Economic Regions

The Northern Great Plains is a very diverse area socially and culturally. The only way it is unified or characterized as a region is economically. The Northern Cheyenne Reservation, its resources and its people, have been caught up in this larger regional economy. Therefore, it is very important to understand the economic forces that have shaped this whole region to be what it is today. This understanding will provide a context for exploring some of the development issues currently facing the Reservation and the surrounding areas.

We know that the Northern Great Plains is an intensely rural area, with an economy that depends on agricultural production--in southeastern Montana it is primarily beef production. We also know that this area has lagged behind many other parts of the country economically, that it has experienced essentially no population growth, and that many local areas have actually lost population, and so on. We will present some statistics and figures on all this later, but they will only back up what everyone here knows. So

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*This chapter and Chapter V of this report both owe much to Dwayne Ward and Al Gedicks, who made many helpful suggestions at their inception.

now we can go ahead and look deeper into this situation to see what economic patterns lie behind it.

We can begin with a closer look at the area right around the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservations in southeastern Montana. The economist, E.F. Schumacher, suggested in a recent talk in Helena (1) that one way to understand what is happening in an area is to pretend that it is an island, and to pay attention to what leaves the island and what comes into the island. It is clear that what leaves this particular "island" are primarily raw agricultural products, mostly beef; and what comes into the " island" are manufactured goods and processed foods.

The towns in this area, excluding the Reservations, are all small ranching communities. The only exception is the town of Colstrip, primarily owned by the Montana Power Company, which has grown up at the site of the mine and generating plants there. The ranching towns in this area play an important role as centers of far-flung ranching communities. They provide basic supplies and services, limited recreational facilities like high-school basketball games, and meeting places like local bars. But all facilities are limited. Consequently, people from this area often by-pass the small towns like Birney and Ashland, and even medium-sized towns like Hardin and Forsyth, and instead make the long drive to Billings, Miles City, or Sheridan, for shopping or recreation. These cities also supply the small towns, so much of the trade from this area is conducted directly or indirectly in these

cities. They have the variety of prices, services, and recreational facilities that people want and that are not available in the smaller towns.

These cities are each roughly a two-hour drive from the town of Lame Deer on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation (see the location map, p. viii above).

Obviously the cities are important to the economy of the more rural outlying area in which the Reservations are located. Billings is a good example, with its rapidly growing population of from 80,000 to 100,000 people, it is the largest city in Montana. Billings is the major trade center for southeastern Montana, and also a major transportation center with storage facilities, a large livestock auction yard, and railroad and trucking terminals. Its most prominent industries are several oil refineries, a sugar beet factory, and a meat-packing plant. These industries all process raw materials produced in the outlying areas like the one centered around the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations. It is safe to say that from an economic point of view, Billings acts primarily as a trade center, channeling raw materials out of its outlying areas, and finished products back into them.

Finally, there is one more economic layer that we must take into account. Most of the goods that make up the retail trade of Billings are manufactured in or shipped through major metropolitan centers in the midwest or west coast. Many of the products originally produced in the Northern Great Plains Region find their way out of

local trade centers like Billings, and to these same metropolitan centers. It is also significant that much of the capital that was invested in cattle production in this area while it was still a frontier area also came from distant metropolitan centers. This outside capital established and has continued to influence the agricultural character of the rural economy of this area. The new industrial coal-based economy proposed for this area in the future will similarly be developed by outside capital controlled by corporate firms. These firms typically headquarter in major metropolitan centers and their operations are multinational in scope. This makes the economic situation very complicated. It is clear that we cannot understand what is happening in local areas or in the whole Northern Plains Region without atleast referring to the world-wide economic forces that govern the behavior of the firms that control this development capital.

We may look at the economic situation that was just described as composed of geographical layers. The layers begin with rural ranching areas which center on local towns. A number of local towns will fall within the trade sphere of one of the medium-sized cities which are scattered throughout the Northern Plains Region. These cities in turn relate to the large metropolitan centers in other parts of the country.

B. WHAT A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE CAN TELL US ABOUT LOCAL AREAS

It is interesting to look at things in this way, but it also tells us some important things about this southeastern Montana

area. In the first place, it helps make it clear just how much this area depends on exporting raw or unfinished goods, and importing manufactured or processed goods.

For example, looking at selected statistics for different geographical layers as described above reveals clear contrasts that help define the different specialized economic niches of these areas (Figure I-1). The significant contrasts in Figure I-1 are those between Montana and the United States in percentages of people employed in manufacturing (9.7% vs. 25.9%, respectively), and between the Decker-Birney-Ashland areas and Montana and the United States in the percentages of people employed in wholesale and retail trade (4.8% vs. 23.3% and 20.1%, respectively). The slightly smaller proportion of people employed in trade in the United States compared to Montana is probably a function of the much larger proportion employed in manufacturing in the United States.

More statistics and figures will be presented later to help define the economies of the Northern Great Plains and of our own southeastern Montana area. But statistics by themselves are static and limited--they give little feeling for the dynamic system that must lie behind them and make them what they are. That is where the geographical perspective being presented here comes in.

The social economy of the United States may be seen as a complex dynamic system--a system that is changing over time and that has an important geographical dimension. The geographical layers that were just described define one aspect of the way that this overall economic system operates spatially, on the ground.

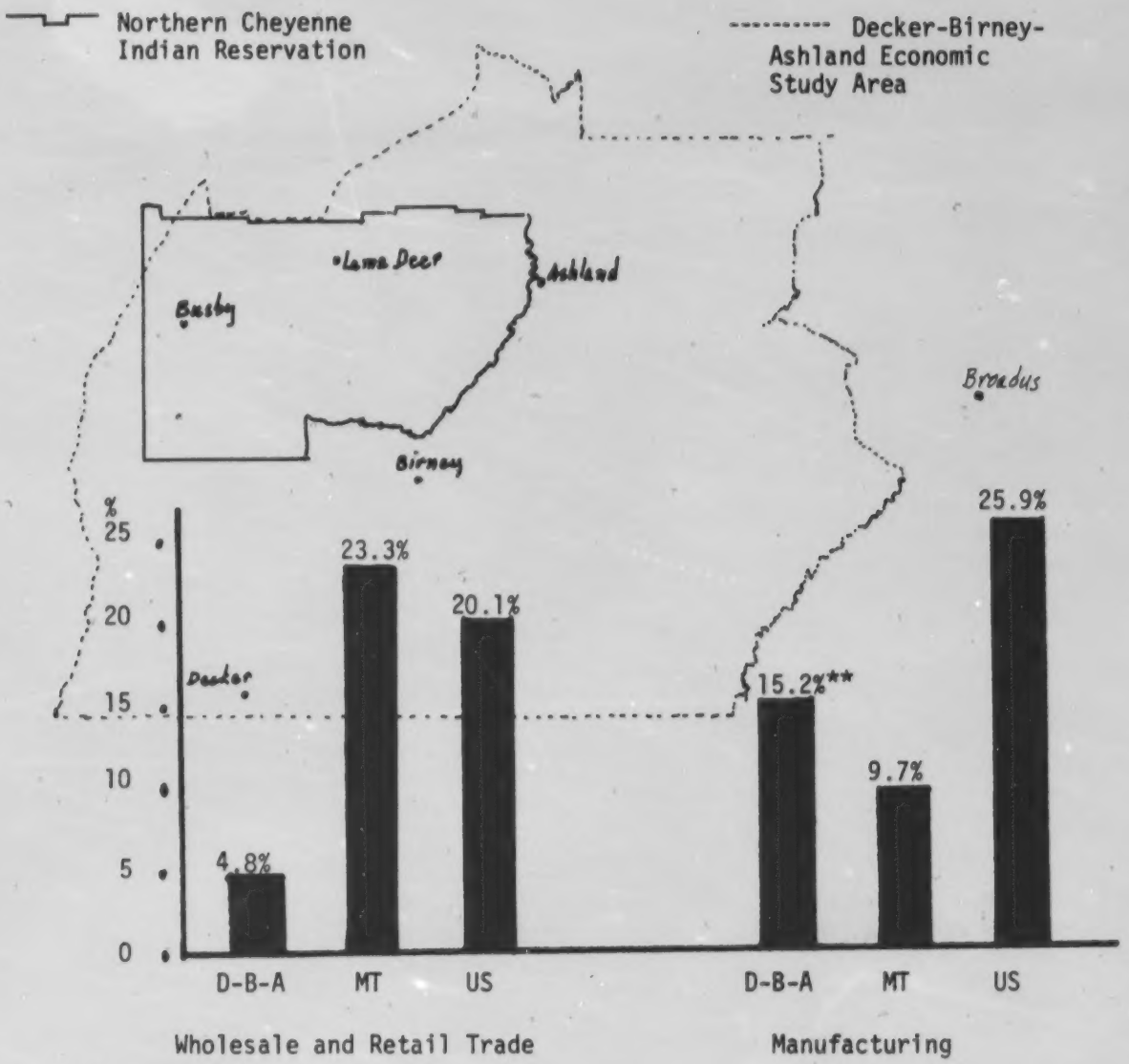


Figure I-1 : Location Map, And Relative Percentages of People Employed in Trade and in Manufacturing in the Decker-Birney-Ashland* Economic Study Area (D-B-A), in Montana (MT), and in the United States (US), 1970. Derived: (2), (3).

*In 1970 this entire area of 3,648 sq.mi. in southeastern Montana had a resident population of 4,163, for a population density of 1.1ppsm (Fig I-9).

**The relatively high percentage of people shown as employed in manufacturing in this area in 1970 is a function of its low population and of the presence of two small lumbermills and a small plastics factory in Ashland (population 400 in 1970). As of this writing (May 1977) the plastics factory and the largest of the two mills have closed, so this percentage figure has probably dropped almost to zero.

In terms of economic geography, the figures seem to indicate an increasing tendency for large metropolitan centers to dominate the economies of the outlying areas. The metropolitan centers concentrate wealth, capital, labor, markets, entrepreneurship, and knowledge, while the outlying areas decline in population and in indices of relative economic well-being.

Rust and Alonso (4) note that economically declining rural areas tend to lie in between the spheres of influence of the coastal and Great Lakes metropolitan centers. They say, "The Old West region, and particularly Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota are literally as far as one can get from these emerging urban fields.... It is the last and least settled part." Similarly, Jorgensen (5) advances a similar idea in different terms with his "metropolis-satellite model" of economic differentiation.

A somewhat more static way to look at the economy in terms of geographical layers has been called "central place theory" because it relates geographical areas to central places such as towns or cities. Skinner (6) has mapped the economic geography of one area of rural China into amazingly regular hierarchical layers using this approach. Closer to home, the United States Bureau of Economic Analysis has found it convenient to divide up the Northern Great Plains into economic areas. Each area is centered on and defined by medium-sized cities in the region. A map of these BEA economic areas appears in the Appendix and diagrams of Skinner's rural marketing areas are also reproduced in the Appendix.

Although the large-scale geographically-oriented systems perspective is helpful, it presents only one view of the situation. It is also important that a similar polarizing trend on a smaller scale can be seen within rural or satellite areas themselves, as local trade centers concentrate the goods and services that are becoming increasingly less available in the outlying areas (7). So the national trend is mirrored on the local level. Furthermore, there is a vertical dimension to the process as well, as influxes of outside capital in specialized industries increase economic differences within any one local area.

One local example has to do only with wages. When construction was started on the coal-fired electric generating units at Colstrip a few miles north of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, the starting wage for unskilled labor was in the range of six or seven dollars per hour, while the wages in the small plastics factory in Ashland on the eastern edge of the reservation remained around two to three dollars per hour until the factory shut down just this year. Of more general importance, the concentration of wealth in urban and local trade centers itself undoubtedly reflects an increasing vertical concentration of wealth and ownership as well.

Furthermore, although the large multinational firms that increasingly dominate the economic landscape usually headquarter in metropolitan centers, they do set up local branches and institutions to conduct their businesses in local areas. Other firms, like Montana Power Company, are entirely locally based, although they

may be largely owned by outside capital.

These are all limits to the geographical perspective being applied here. There are important things it does not by itself tell us about the economy, and it should in any case be viewed as an expression of more fundamental processes within the economic system as a whole. But where it does apply (as an aid to understanding the experience of local economies of the Northern Plains region), and for what it can tell us, it is a useful tool.

The economic picture, then, seems to be fit together a little like a puzzle. Each piece has its own place, or "niche," in the overall picture. The niche occupied by rural areas of the Northern Plains seems to be to specialize in exporting one or a few kinds of raw materials to other areas of the country. This situation has been called "colonial" or "internal colonialization." Gaffney says that Montana "is the heart of the largest urban vacuum to be found anywhere in the United States and would appear to be about as nearly colonial as a state can get" (8). Perhaps the characterization has a ring of truth to it. In the end, however, the important thing is to recognize that the situation is very complicated, is part of a long-term trend in this country and in the world, and to use the best data and theories available to try to understand it.

C. WHAT DOES DEPENDENCE ON EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES MEAN FOR THE LOCAL ECONOMY?

The observation that the economy of this region is based on the export of raw materials means at least two things. The first of these has to do with the way that this or any other area becomes economically dependent on producing one or a few types of unprocessed goods for export. It is clear that this can happen only when the area is developed by outside capital, when its economic development is directed from outside.

That is what happened originally in Northern Plains ranching areas with the beef industry (9). As local ranching communities developed and family-owned ranches became more numerous, the role of eastern and European capital apparently decreased in Northern Plains range cattle enterprises, although it has certainly not disappeared entirely even today. But it has remained true that these areas (including that area of southeastern Montana in which the Northern Cheyenne Reservation is located) have remained heavily dependent economically on marketing beef to other areas of the country (see pp.56-57 and Figure 1-4 below). The basic economic pattern established originally by outside ownership has persisted, even though the ownership situation itself may have changed.

That the energy companies and conglomerates now moving into Montana also represent outside interests needs no documentation: Shell, AMAX, Tenneco, or Peabody are hardly local Montana-based companies. We may assume that their operations would not change this area's structural economic dependence on specialized extractive industries in any way.

A second point is that when an area is heavily dependent on this kind of concentrated export economy, then it is unlikely ever to develop very much of its economic potential. The reason for this is that the basic extractive industries like mining or agriculture can bring only so much money into the area, and can generate only so much employment--less and less in fact, as these operations rely more on machines and less on human labor.

This puts a drag on the economy for several reasons. The first reason is (a) that the machines are always made somewhere else, so those jobs go to other regions. Another reason is (b) that as a material or item is processed it adds value. Shumacher (10) gave the example of wheat. There is as much "value-added" for milling the wheat into flour as there is for growing it in the first place. This is an economic fact even if it does not make logical sense. If the milling and further processing is done outside of the region where the wheat is produced, then all the value-added, all the jobs, and the build-up of basic productive capacity and capital wealth will happen elsewhere. This is especially serious when the raw material produced and shipped out of the region is limited and non-renewable as in mining. When the material is gone or no longer economical to mine, then all that is left is a depressed economy and a ruined landscape, as has happened in Appalachia and other places.

Thirdly, (c) a regional economy that is based on producing and exporting raw materials is in one way or another dependent on

outside interests in other areas that receive, process, and distribute these materials. Although these outside interests may control or influence the local economy, they have no real stake in what happens to the quality of life in the local area. They can aquire the benefits and pay few of the social and economic costs of their operations in the local area. Fourth, (d) a related point is that if a local economy is largely dependent on one or two export products, then the whole economy swings with the market ups and downs of these products, and with their availability and depletion if they are non-renewable. So local economies like this are subject to classic "boom and bust" cycles that cripple their real long-term growth.

These are four good reasons why local areas with an export economy usually fail to live up to their economic potential.

In summary, if we look at the areas in southeastern Montana around the Northern Cheyenne Reservation as an island, and pay attention to what comes in and what goes out, then it becomes clear that the economy of this area is heavily dependent on the export of one kind of raw materials, namely beef (see Figure I-4). In fact, local areas throughout the whole Northern Great Plains region have tended to become highly specialized, although of course in the region as a whole other agricultural products and mining also enter the picture. This export economy is a sign that our local area probably is or was economically controlled by outside interests. As long as this area remains overly dependent on one or two export

commodities, it will not develop a diversified, independently productive economic base.

D. AN ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS

The report by the Bureau of Economic Analysis (11) that was mentioned above is a good place to start understanding the economy of this region in more detail. The Northern Great Plains Region that is covered in the report is shown in the Appendix, which also shows the breakdown of this region into BEA economic areas. Each area is defined in relation to a central city which gives the area its name. The Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) report provides a theory as well as data for helping to understand the economy of this region.

The theory used in the report is called "export base theory." According to the export base theory used in BEA's analysis, a region's economy can be divided into two parts. The first part is the basic industry sector, and it is made up of "the group of industries in which the region specializes" (12). The products from these industries are sold to other regions for cash, which then helps to support the area's secondary, or "residentiary" industries. In this theory, the residentiary industries are dependent on the basic industries.

The striking thing about the Northern Great Plains Region as it is discussed in this report is its heavy reliance on agriculture in its basic industry sector. Agriculture accounts for as much as 60% of the basic industry sector's earnings, which in turn account for

about 33% of the total earnings of the region (see Figure I-3). Although agricultural earnings are only 20.1% of the total earnings of the region, they make up a major portion of the basic sector earnings on which the rest, according to the BEA theory, depends.

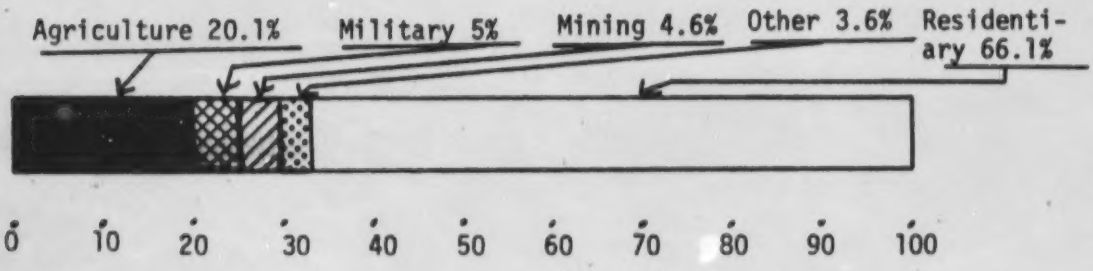


Figure I-2: Percentage of Earnings by Industry Sector, 1969. Northern Great Plains Region. Derived: (13).

Statistics available in the Rosebud County Planning Study (14) are even more dramatic. The area covered in this study includes Rosebud County and a small area of Big Horn County, taking in the western section of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation and the area south of the Reservation including Decker, Montana. Decker is the site of the world's largest coal strip mine with a current capacity of over 10 million tons per year.

Fully 46.4% of the earnings in the Rosebud County Planning Study area (see Figure I-3) is from agriculture, and 11.4% from mining. Thus, primary extractive industry accounts for almost 60% of the earnings of this area, and government accounts for another 12%. Since the study area includes the town of Forsyth,

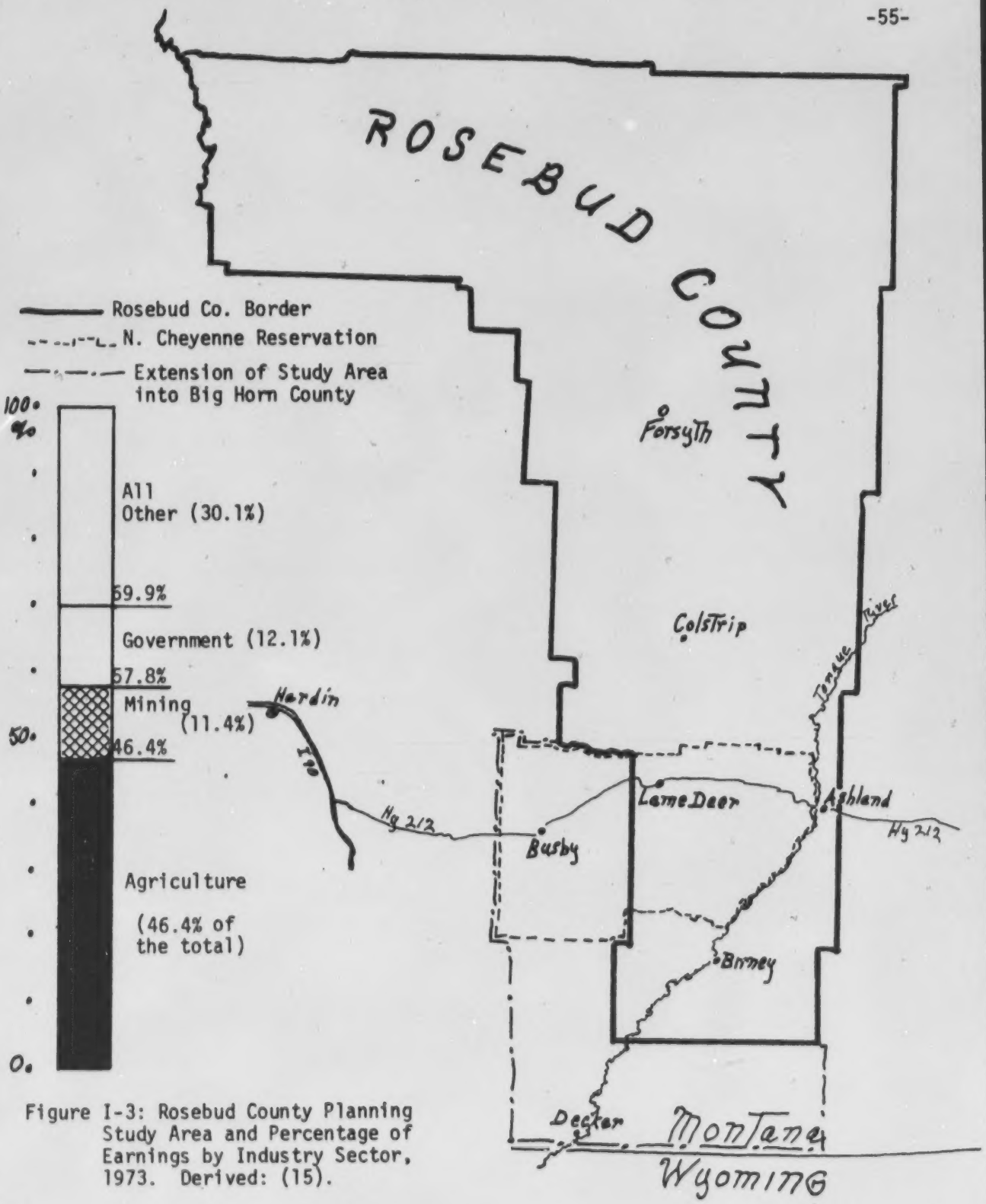


Figure I-3: Rosebud County Planning Study Area and Percentage of Earnings by Industry Sector, 1973. Derived: (15).

comparable figures for the Reservation-Decker-Birney-Ashland area, which includes no market towns of comparable importance, would doubtless show even greater reliance on agriculture and mining.

Figure I-4 contains further indication that the area right around and including the Northern Cheyenne Reservation specializes intensely in agricultural production, especially beef. The Reservation lies partly in Rosebud County and partly in Big Horn County. Figure I-4 shows that these two counties have a greater proportion of their land in agriculture than does the whole State of Montana or the United States. Furthermore, these counties devote a greater portion of that land that is agricultural to producing beef than does the State or the United States.

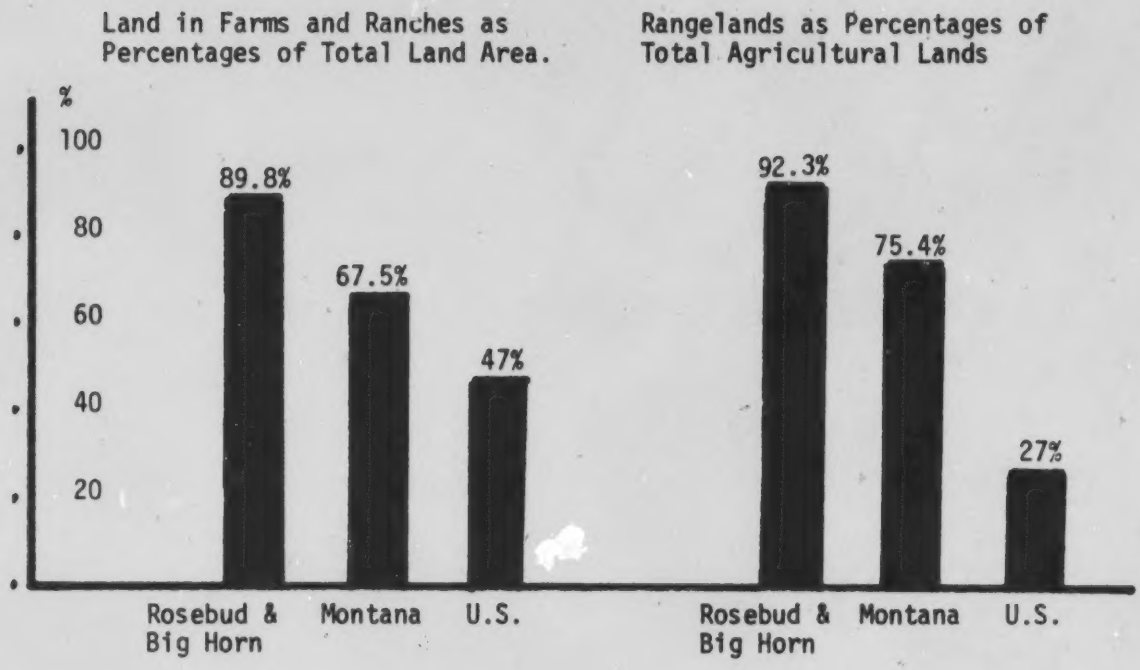
This is not only a matter of acreages. In 1972 farms and ranches within the area comprising Big Horn, Rosebud, and Powder River Counties received almost three-fourths of their receipts from the sale of livestock and one-fourth from crops. On the other hand, farms and ranches throughout the state averaged about one-half of their receips from crop sales, and one-half from livestock (16).

These differences are significant, and reveal that this area around the Reservation does occupy a highly specialized economic niche within the broader specialization of the region as a whole on extractive industries. Apparently sub-specialization is common

throughout the region. Rust and Alonso (17) observe of the area comprising Montana, North Dakota, and Wyoming that

> its economy within large homogeneous sub-areas such as the mining areas of the Rockies or the dry-land wheat farm areas of the Missouri Plateau, is highly specialized, and is heavily dependent upon exports and imports.

Figure I-4: Agricultural Land as Percentage of Total Land Areas, and Rangeland as Percentages of Total Agricultural Land: Rosebud and Big Horn Counties, Montana, and the United States. Derived: (18), (19).

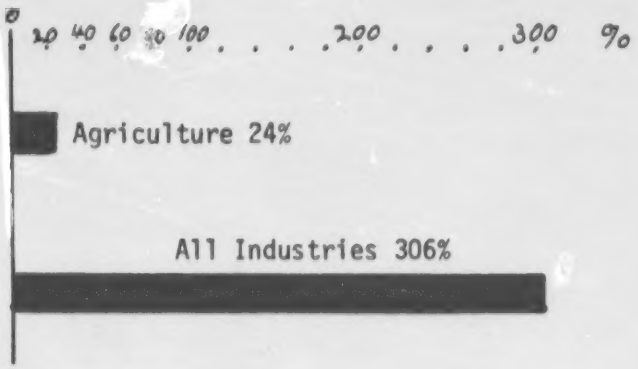


In returning to the region as a whole, let us keep in mind that the trends and profiles that characterize the region will be even more strongly expressed in the wholly rural setting of southeastern Montana and the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The

following statistics and discussion are adapted primarily from the Bureau of Economic Analysis report mentioned earlier (20).

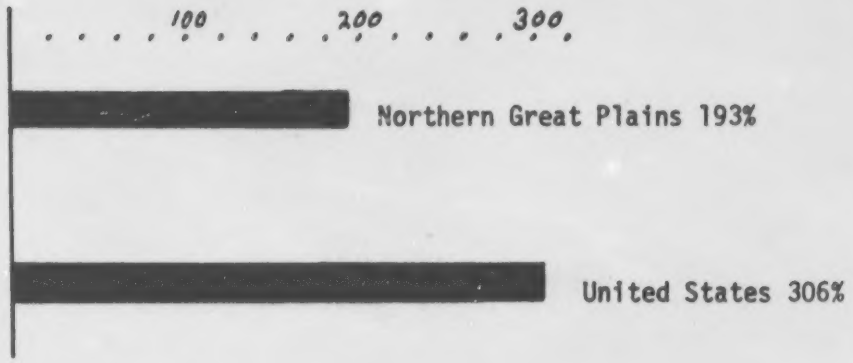
Agriculture dominates the economy of the region. The single most dominant force in the Northern Great Plains regional economy has been the relatively slow rate of growth of the agricultural sector of the United States economy as a whole (see Figure I-5).

Figure I-5: Percentage Growth Rates, Agriculture vs. All-Industry Average, United States 1929-1969. Derived: (21).



According to the theory presented in the BEA report, the heavy reliance of the basic industry sector on the extractive industries of agriculture and mining, as shown in Figures I-2, I-3, and I-4 above, has the effect of slowing down the growth of the region's residentiary industries. The relatively slow economic growth in both basic and residentiary sectors produces a relative lag in the rate of growth of the total earnings of the region (see Figure I-6).

Figure I-6: Percentage Growth Rates, Total Earnings in the Northern Great Plains Region and in the U.S., 1929-1969. Derived: (22).



The basic economic picture being drawn here is reflected in other statistics. The trend has been for the Northern Great Plains to have smaller and smaller proportions of the total U.S. population, and total U.S. income. However, population has decreased faster than income in the region, so there has been a slight increase in the relative <u>per-capita</u> income of the region (see Figure I-7).

Figure I-7: Northern Great Plains Relative Population, Income, and Per-Capita Income as Proportions of U.S. Totals, 1929-1969. Derived (23).

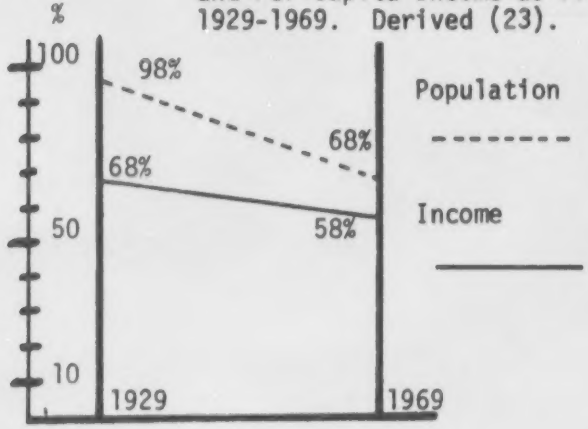


Figure I-7a: Relative Population & Income.

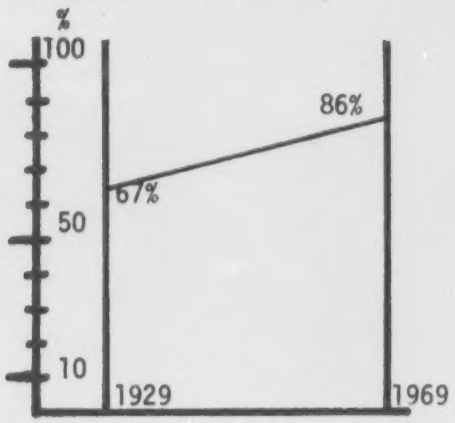


Figure I-7b: Relative Per-Capita Income.

The economic figures we have presented look dismal by themselves. However, there is another side to the picture. The way the economy of this area has developed has meant low population densities, much unspoiled open space, clean air, and the preservation of natural beauty--all commodities of increasing scarcity and worth.

In addition, the other side of relatively slow growth is relative stability, which has made it possible for people in local areas of the region to develop or maintain traditional societies with their own values, customs, and potentials.

We are not saying that a stagnant, dependent economy is a good thing--we are confident that there are better ways to maintain the essential values of this area. Nevertheless, even at face value, the economic and population statistics for this region are worth thinking about; there is more than one way to look at them (Figures I-8 and I-9).

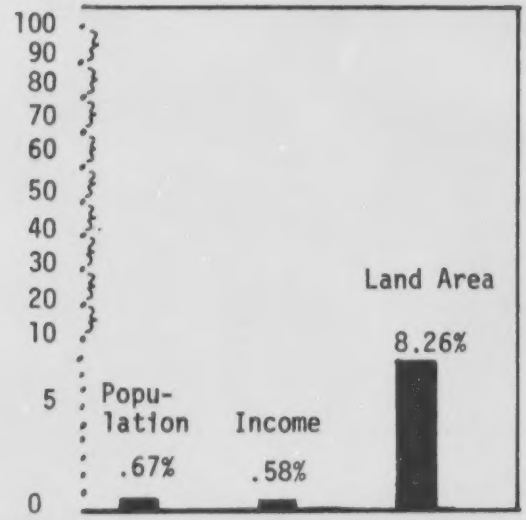
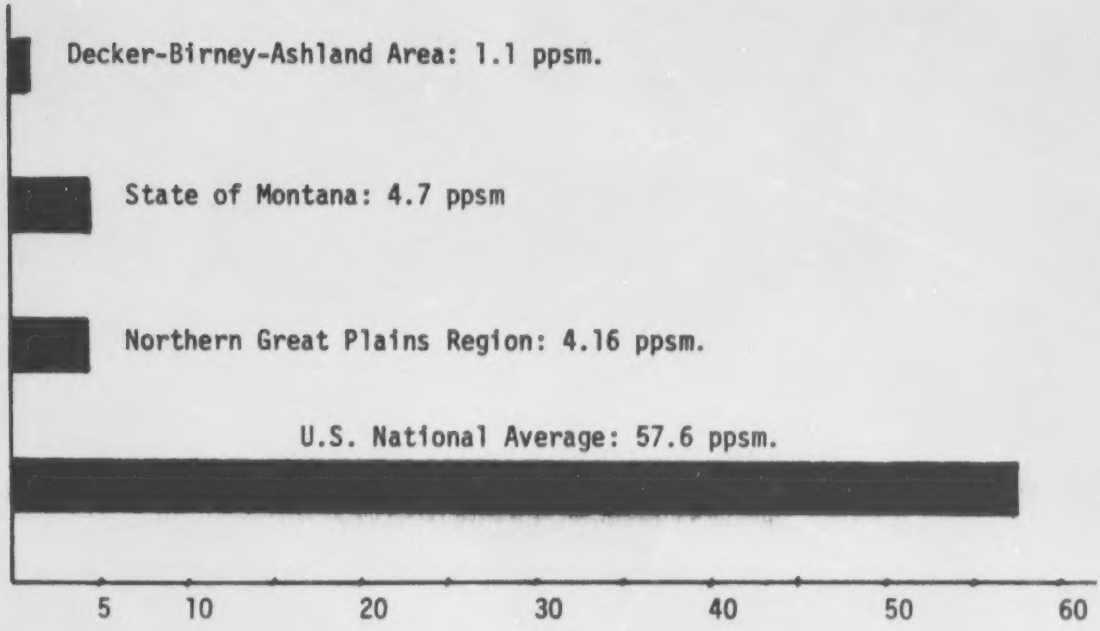


Figure I-8: Northern Great Plains Percentages of U.S. Totals: Population, Income, and Land Area. Derived: (24).

Figure I-9: Population Densities, People Per Square Mile, in the Decker-Birney-Ashland Area*, in Montana, in the Northern Great Plains Region, and in the United States. Derived: (25), (26).



*Defined here as an area of 3,648 square miles, including roughly the southeast corner of Big Horn County, the southern third of Rosebud County, and the western half of Powder River County in southeastern Montana. This area includes the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation (see Figure I-1 above).

E. REGIONAL QUALITY OF LIFE

Quality of life is a hard thing to pin down or to make generalizations about. It can vary from person to person in the same area, and from area to area in a region. It is undoubtedly

qualitatively different in rural areas than in towns and cities. It is a combination of many factors, of which economic considerations like those just discussed are only a part. There are certainly areas of the country with much higher standards of living (economically speaking) than are generally found in rural Montana, and yet the quality of life in rural Montana as measured in other ways (crime or mental health rates for example) might be greater.

Probably like most other things it comes down to what people value. One man's meat is another man's poison. For one person rural isolation might bring peace, for another boredom. Some people gladly trade fresh air and beautiful scenery for pollution and concrete in order to enjoy the excitement of city life, but others do so reluctantly or not at all. Rural community life can be rich with a sense of roots and tradition, or it can be stifling and meaningless.

The important thing is to avoid forming judgements like these for other people. Although we agree with Schumacher's economic analysis (27) and recognize that this area follows the pattern he describes of relying on a one-crop economy, we do not believe as he seemed to claim that this has necessarily made life monotonous or dull. For many people here this area offers richly rewarding ways of life. Montana has been called "provincial" (28). Again, while this may be accurate economically, it is our impression that it does not reflect the social and political consciousness of

most of the people of this area, who are in general at least as sophisticated as most urban dwellers--maybe more so because many people here still feel able to influence the destiny of this area, and have made themselves aware of the main trends of world and regional events.

Although we are critical of the current economic structure of this region we respect the different ways of life that have developed along with this structure. There is no paradox here (see Chapter V). We respect people's judgements that these ways of life have value and are worth fighting for. We also must admit as a possibility that a sudden shift in the economic base of this region from cattle to coal could drastically affect people's ways of life here without changing the structural economic dependence that has characterized this area for the last one hundred years. For these reasons we recommend exploring development alternatives that might go the other route, and protect current societies and cultures while encouraging greater regional economic self-reliance.

Such a program would not ignore the coal resource, since it could play an important role in diversifying the economy of this area. But it might mean keeping coal extraction more under local control and planning more gentle timetables for exploiting it.

Specific economic development alternatives that would increase the economic self-reliance of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation are discussed in Chapters II and IV.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER I

(1) E.F. Schumacher, Keynote Address, (At the"Public Forum on The Future of Montana's Economy," sponsored by the National Center for Appropriate Technology, the Montana Committee for the Humanities, and others, Helena, Montana, 2/18-19/77).

(2) Randle V. White, The Decker-Birney-Ashland Area and Coal Development, An Economic Study. (A report prepared for the Montana Energy Advisory Council, U.S. Forest Service, and the Bureau of Land Management, 1975), Figure 2, and Table 2.13.

(3) Edgar Rust and William Alonso, Adaptation or Reversal; Policies for the Quality of Life in the Economically Declining Parts of Montana, North Dakota, and Wyoming. (A report prepared for the Old West Regional Commission, 1975), Table 6.

(4) Ibid., p. 16.

(5) Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Indians and the Metropolis," in Waddell and Watson (eds.), The American Indian in Urban Society (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1971), pp. 80-81.

(6) G. William Skinner, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," in George Foster, Jack Potter, and May Diaz, (eds.), The Peasant Reader (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), pp. 89-81.

(7) Rust and Alonzo, op. cit., p. 14

(8) Mason Gaffney, "Counter-Colonial Land Policy for Montana (Missoula, Montana: Western Wildlands, Vol 3, No. 3, 1977), pp. 16-26.

(9) Gene M. Gressley, Bankers and Cattlemen (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

(10) Schumacher, op. cit.

(11) Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA), Economic Profiles of the Northern Plains Region (a report prepared for the Northern Great Plains Resource Program, 1973).

(12) Ibid., p. 2.

(13) Ibid., Table 5, p. 2.

FOOTNOTES, CHAPTER I - (cont'd).

(14) Mountain West Research Inc. and Cumin Associates, Rosebud County, Montana: Economic-Demographic Analysis Baseline and Projections 1976-1990, A Study for the Rosebud County Planning Board. (Cumin Associates: Billings, Montana, 1976).

(15) Ibid., Table 11-17, p. 28.

(16) White, op. cit., Table 2.16 and p. 41.

(17) Rust and Alonso, op. cit., p. 14

(18) White, op cit., Table 2.16.

(19) United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics, 1976. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.), p. 41.

(20) Bureau of Economic Analysis, op. cit., p. 22.

(21) Ibid., p. 24.

(22) Ibid., p. 24.

(23) Ibid., pp. 16, 19.

(24) Ibid., pp. 16, 19.

(25) Ibid., p. 16.

(26) White, op.cit., p. 11.

MR. PEABODY

(a song)

Stoney Ridge Bear 1977

Do you recall a hundred years
We seen a trail of tears
My people died for this land
And the gun was in your hand.
Morning Star, Little Wolf, they thought of me
And not of your stupid industry.
Can you expect me to forget who I am
And the ground where their spirits rest.

Mr. Peabody, leave me alone.
I'm not interested in your fortune or your fame.

Mr. Peabody, leave me alone
I don't want to hear about your big corporate game.

Why don't you and your toys go home?
Mr. Peabody, leave me alone.

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CHAPTER II

THE RESERVATION IN THE REGIONAL ECONOMY

by Nancy J. Owens
and James P. Boggs

A. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1. Introduction

The Northern Cheyenne reservation itself occupies a unique position within the economy of the Northern Plains Region. It is typical of the region in that its land base is used primarily for grazing and timber. However, in every other respect the reservation is a unique entity socially, culturally, demographically, historically, politically, and in terms of the usual economic indices. It is striking that in spite of all these differences, the productive resources of Tribal lands have nevertheless become effectively and thoroughly integrated into the general economic structure of the region.

2. A Regional Historical Overview

We saw in Chapter I that in general the economies of local areas in the Northern Great Plains are heavily influenced by their economic ties to distant metropolitan centers. One of the most important general patterns of history, one that has repeated itself

over and over for thousands of years, has been the expansion of the influence of urban- or industrially-based societies into rural areas.

This pattern preceded industrialization in both the Old and the New Worlds. As soon as people developed an agricultural base that could support permanent settlements which grew into cities, the cities began to expand their influence over outlying areas (1). This pattern has continued ever since, but was greatly speeded up with the coming of industrialization. By now, in 1977, almost all areas and societies of the world have been affected by and even become a part of an industrially-based worldwide economic system.

When whites came into the Northern Plains they repeated this historical pattern. They killed the buffalo on which the native economies depended, introduced cattle, fenced the range, and put the Indian tribes on reservations that were small fractions of their previous territories. They tried in a number of ways to force Indian tribes to adapt to the farming and ranching economy that they had suddenly imposed on the area, and that existed as such only in relation to distant metropolitan markets. This forced adaptation for the Indian tribes from a free-roving hunting life to a settled existence on small reservations, from a buffalo economy to an economy based on land ownership, cattle, welfare, and money, has not been easy. A century later it is still far from perfect. It was a catastrophically sudden forced change from

one way of life to another.

The irony is that now the third and fourth generation descendents of the original ranching families that took over this land roughly a century ago are faced with a very similar, catastrophically sudden, forced change in the economic base of what is (now) their country. Before it was the military, the missionaries, and the ranchers with barbed wire on one side, and Indian tribes on the other. Today it is coal company representatives, imported skilled construction workers, managers, speculators, and batteries of energy researchers on the one side, and Indians and ranchers on the other. However tenuous and careful this alliance between Indians and ranchers is, it is still a real alliance of local interests against outside interests.

There are, of course, very important differences between the two "take-overs" of this area. But these differences, important as they are, should not hide the basic structural similarity between them that also exists. In the same way, the many intervening changes in technologies and lifestyles should not conceal that the basic economic relationship between this region and other parts of the country have not really changed over those same three or four generations either. The Northern Great Plains is still a rural area whose economy serves the needs of large metropolitan centers, and this would be equally true with an economy based on coal extraction rather than agriculture. Truly, history repeats itself.

3. Historical Overview of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation Period

A culturally and economically oriented history of the reservation period is needed. Although we cannot prepare such a history for this volume, a few looks into the past will help to establish a framework for understanding the reservation's place in the current economy of the area.

a. Agricultural History

Agricultural land is perhaps the oldest and most consistently important productive resource on the reservation, and the history of its development and use holds many important lessons for future economic policies.

Even before the reservation was established, a band of Cheyennes under Chief Two Moons had remained with General Miles at Fort Keogh (present-day Miles City). The army helped and encouraged the Cheyennes to homestead, to farm, and to raise cattle. Miles had allowed the men to hunt buffalo, and they sold the hides to buy wagons and implements. In the spring of 1882 a final group of families set out for the Rosebud in wagons bought with the sale of hides. With the help of one of Miles' men, they marked out homesteads and began to farm. Here is a description of that first summer:

> ...even though the season was late for them to sow, they immediately began to plant some vegetables and crops. During the summer, thirty families built houses and reportedly received enough from their harvest to furnish them with food for the coming winter. (2)

Two years later the reservation was established, and 16 years later in 1900 it was extended eastward to include the Tongue River. Those Cheyennes who had settled outside its borders and east of the river were paid twenty-five dollars apiece to abandon their homesteads and move onto the reservation. Thus the Cheyennes came under the rule of the Indian Agency, they were for the first time not self-supporting, the government provided rations, their free movement was restricted, and the period of reservation life had begun.

What happened between then and now? Even without answering this question that brief glimpse into the past tells much about the present. Just prior to 1884 the Northern Cheyennes had set up successful small agricultural homesteads oriented primarily to self-sufficiency on a family basis. This is evidence enough that the Cheyenne's efforts to adapt to the new economy of the region were characterized by industry, sobriety, and a lot of hard work. It takes some doing to set up a homestead, build a house, and plow and plant crops in the course of one summer, and their operations were apparently viable over a number of years, since those homesteads east of the Tongue River were bought out for twenty-five dollars a family member at the time the reservation was extended in 1900.

There are also direct accounts of the discipline and will with which Cheyennes tried to adapt to the white man's world. In a note in John Stands in Timber's book (3), Margot Liberty observes that "the initial enthusiasm of the Cheyennes for gardening, wood cutting, and other forms of labor surprised and gratified such observers as General Miles and Agent George Stouch." She also observes that the early Cheyennes carried some orientation toward gardening since they had themselves been horticulturalists less than a century before. To get perspective on this in practical terms: Iron Teeth, a Cheyenne woman of ninety-five in 1929, could remember growing corn in the Black Hills before the Tribe had completed its transition to relying entirely on the horse and buffalo for susistance. She describes this transition.

> We planted corn every year when I was a little girl in the Black Hills. With sharpened sticks we punched holes in the ground, dropped in grains of corn, then went hunting all summer. When the grass died we returned and gathered the crop. But the Pawnees and the Arikaras got to stealing or destroying our growing food, so we had to quit the plantings. We got into the way then of following all the time after the buffalo and other game herds. (4)

In short, the transition from semi-settled horticultural villages to nomadic plains life to the reservation was accompanied in one long lifetime.

In spite of the apparent hard work and success that characterized the early self-sufficient Cheyenne homesteads, today there are none left. What has taken their place? Primarily wage labor, with small amounts of unearned income supplements (see the next

section of this chapter). Today the agricultural land of the reservation is used almost entirely for grazing by relatively few ranchers who are able to run successful cash operations. Our guess is that the small successful family homesteads of the early years gave way when the Northern Plains region and the reservation were introduced into their specific roles in the larger cash economy of the nation as a whole.

b. Analysis

An in-depth history of this economic transition for the reservation would be instructive, but is more than we can do here. We can point out, however, that one result of this transition is that the land resource of the Tribe can support only an ever smaller proportion of tribal members. The reason for this must be sought in the nature of the agricultural cash economy itself.

The agricultural economy of the area demands that each cattle operation be continually increasing its land base, yet the reservation is small and its land-base is limited. It demands that the cattle operation rely more and more on machinery, which is expensive and means that the operation has to have an ever greater investment of capital. Yet the capital resources of the Tribe as a whole are quite limited. The greater use of machinery means that each cattle operation requires relatively fewer people, yet

one of the Tribe's greatest needs is for employment. Furthermore, the surrounding areas can adapt to the need for fewer people by out-migration, yet this is an alternative that for many reasons is not acceptable or available to most tribal members. As one result the population density of the reservation is over four times that of the surrounding area (4.58 persons per square mile for the reservation compared to 1.1 persons per square mile for the surrounding area-- see Figure I:9 Chapter I of this report).

The result of this situation is that the Tribe as a whole cannot easily adapt to the economic pressures of cattle production for cash. Individual farms and ranches can adapt by becoming larger and more capital intensive. But this means that the ranching community of the reservation, as important as it is to the reservation's economy, can survive only by concentrating control of an important tribal resource in ever fewer hands. This situation leaves the Tribe with a difficult situation that is out of tune both with its basic values and with its long-term economic needs.

In making this analysis we would not suggest that the Tribe abandon its grazing enterprises. Cattle production will probably always remain one of the Tribe's most important renewable resources, of benefit both to it and to the nation. But it does illustrate what can happen if the Tribe's needs as a unique and permanent community are not taken into account in economic planning, and analyzed

in relation to the specialized economy of the region in which it finds itself.

c. Conclusion

Today, reliance on cash and on specialized production for cash returns are among the most basic economic realities for the Tribe. It is doubtful, barring economic collapse of the whole system, that tribal members could or would return to the economic self-sufficiency of individual homesteads, nor would this be desireable. Yet the fact that the early homesteads were successful, and that something along that order could from a production standpoint be made to work, still holds lessons for possible economic directions for the future.

These early farms stand as successful examples of the development of reservation resources by tribal members for their own use. This is an important lesson because ever since the Bureau of Indian Affairs took over management of Indian resources under the doctrine of trust responsibility, its orientation has been entirely extractive. Instead of using Indian resources as the base on which to build a productive, diversified, and relatively self-sustaining reservation economy, the emphasis has been on extracting the resources and shipping them off the reservation for processing and use elsewhere (5).

The BIA's management of the Tribe's grazing lands originally stressed selling or leasing to neighboring white ranchers. This

policy reached its height in the late 40's and early 50's, but was reversed by the Tribe itself during the 1960's. At the time the Tribe not only halted the sale and lease of reservation land to outsiders as best it could, but it also began to buy back that land that had been sold. As a result of this action the Northern Cheyenne are one of the few tribes across the nation with a relatively intact land base. The easy route since then, both because it is the economic pattern of the area and because it has been encouraged by the BIA, has been for Tribal members to use this resource on an individual family basis for ranching. Although there are certain difficulties built into this direction, as explained above, the Tribe is more fortunate than most because it has kept control of its land base, and does have a number of successful Northern Cheyenne ranchers.

Other reservation resources here have been handled for the Tribe in the same way as its grazing and agricultural lands. Timber has been harvested and shipped off the reservation, while finished lumber for houses and other construction is purchased off the reservation and hauled in from Idaho. The Tribe's massive coal resource was leased at the initiative and insistance of the Bureau for 17.5 cents a ton royalty to the Tribe, at the same time tribal members have to bring in coal from Sheridan at a current price including haulage of around $26 per ton. Cattle are produced on the reservation and shipped off, while the beef people buy in the local

store in Lame Deer is shipped in from Nebraska.

In all cases the BIA's management policy has been extractive--to get the reservation's resources shipped off for an often minimal cash return to the Tribe. The alternatives of first developing tribal resources for tribal use, and then on a base of relative self-sufficiency, developing a more diversified tribal economy in which at least some tribal resources are processed here and some finished goods are exported for greater cash returns were not really tried during the long period of Federal management of tribal resources.

Now that the Tribe is taking over management of its resources, it is interested in exploring alternatives of this sort. Although we would not like to make it sound easy, such alternatives seem to the authors to be both possible and well worth the effort (see Chapters IV and VI for further analysis). The early homesteads show the hard work and competence with which the Northern Cheyenne people accomplished a difficult economic transition and managed their own resources for their own ends. The situation is more complicated today and resources development probably will and should be largely on a tribal rather than an individual family basis. But the general historical lessons reviewed here are still sound.

d. Summary

The lessons are as follows: In general Northern Cheyennes work hard and well under their own initiative 1) in a context that is not stultifying and degrading, and where their labor is reasonably in line with Cheyenne values and is rewarding. 2) The reservation is capable of supporting a diversified and self-sufficient economy in its own right. 3) The highly specialized extractive economies of the Northern Plains Region are not necessarily compatible with the needs of the Tribe as a distinct, unique, and permanent Tribal entity. One obvious conclusion is that the Tribe should be supported in its efforts to assume control of its resources, to buck the major trends of the regional economy and widen its economic base, to develop strong tribal along with individual enterprises, and to define work and work roles, and economic activities in general, that are compatible with Northern Cheyenne values and social life.

In contrast, governmental policies have been to encourage small private farms and ranches during a period of farm-size expansion, and also to encourage extractive industries controlled by non-Indians. These policies have resulted in a long and painful series of failures paid for by the Cheyenne people. Here are a few comments and remembrances of Tribal members that express their assessments of the situation. These comments are from notes taken while people spoke during a Council meeting on an important development issue that the Tribe was trying to resolve.

A. When the Reservation was established in 1884, land was Tribally owned. And stories I hear, people were comparatively well-off. An article written in 1920 said that there were 5000 horses and 5000 cows on the reservation. At that time a horse was like money. Then in 1926 the glamor began for allotments. The idea came from Oklahoma. They began to demand allotments. At first it was going to be 80 acres, but they got it raised to 160 acres. After allotment, the owners wanted payment for the use of the land. My uncle had to sell horses to meet the payments. Before that time he didn't have to pay because it was tribal land. Now I don't have any stock, no land. My only interest is in maintaining the Tribe, the integrity of the Tribe as a people.

B. We must all realize this. This reservation is just so big, so much. Our population is increasing. The reservation can only do so much.

When the U.S. Government came in with fences--that's when we got boxed in. People then chose which land they wanted. Now people don't have that choice. Like XXX said, we need to look for additional land.

Back in '47 when I got back I wanted to be a cattleman. Got a $2,500 loan and got a tractor. Damned thing was only good for a garden. They didn't give you enough to start with to make it work. All that thing did is to break me. Took me ten years to pay the damned thing off. I still have it. Started it up just the other day for the first time in four years.

C. As was mentioned, in XXX's time, he got just enough money to handicap him. Just enough to hurt him. That same situation happens today. The BIA gave me a tractor. I was so glad to have a tractor I could get on and work with, I didn't ask myself, "Can this tractor do the work?" I worked sixteen, seventeen hours a day. Plowed ninety acres. A guy from the Bureau came out and said, "Hey, did you do that with that little tractor?" That is the kind of thing the Bureau puts on us.

D. We Cheyennes have had a good history. Most of you guys know what this Tribe went through the last two hundred years or so. One thing we don't want to forget is our history. Someone from the BIA came to us one time and he said, "Forget all that stuff, forget it." Forget it, hell. This land you walk on-- that was bought with the lives of our people. We Cheyenne

men were brought up with the teachings to look out for the Elders, for the young. So long as we are alive, we can't overlook our people, the Elders and the Young.

B. THE RESERVATION ECONOMY

In pre-reservation days, the Northern Cheyennes' economy was based on the buffalo. The buffalo provided food, shelter, and clothing. By the time the Northern Cheyennes won their reservation, the buffalo were gone, purposely or wantonly killed by white men who killed them only for the tongues or for buffalo robes or who killed them to subdue the Indian tribes more quickly.

During the early reservation days, Northern Cheyennes made a living by growing gardens and raising cattle, and by hunting wild game and gathering wild foods. Their food supply was supplemented with government rations and meat supplied from the cattle herd maintained by the Indian agency.

During the 1930's and 1940's, wage-oriented programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps came to the reservation. During the 1960's another group of federally-funded programs came to the reservation as a result of the War on Poverty. In addition there are three schools on the reservation, the Labre Indian Mission, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Tribal government, all of which have provided employment for some time.

Today 87% of all Northern Cheyenne family income is income

earned in the wage labor market. Non-wage income includes income from leased land, and from social security, pensions, welfare such as ADC, and unemployment compensation, in that order. Contrary to popular belief, Indians rely relatively little on sources of welfare for their incomes. Actual welfare payments such as from Aid to Dependent Children probably provide less than 3% of all Northern Cheyenne income. Northern Cheyennes do not receive and never did receive special "government checks" as non-Indians still often believe. Northern Cheyennes rely on the same sources of income as other Americans. Like others in this country, they are primarily dependent on jobs for their incomes.

Seventy percent of the Northern Cheyenne population age 16 years and older either worked or actively sought work in 1975, according to the results of a comprehensive household survey conducted by the Northern Cheyenne Research Project. This included 75% of men and 65% of women who either worked or actively sought work for an overall rate of 70%. These figures compare favorably to 1975 national labor force participation rates. In the nation as a whole in 1975 77% of the men and 46% of the women worked or sought work, for an overall rate of 61% (6).

Furthermore, Northern Cheyenne educational attainment is catching up with national figures. Northern Cheyennes in 1975 had the same proportion of high school graduates and persons who attended one to three years of college as the nation as a whole. However, they were still behind in the proportion of persons who

had received college degrees.

In spite of these figures, Northern Cheyenne incomes are very low. The median household income in 1975 was only $5402, less than one half the 1975 national average of $13,720. The single most important cause of low incomes was the low wages people received. The average wage received by Northern Cheyenne tribal members in 1977 is $3.33. Wages are low on the reservation for all occupational groups, but the problem is worse for Cheyennes than for non-Cheyennes who are employed on the reservation. Cheyennes are employed primarily in occupations that traditionally pay low wages: laborers, service workers, and clerical workers. In spite of the Cheyenne's relatively good educational attainment record, the majority of professional, technical, and managerial jobs on the reservation are held by non-Cheyennes. The occupational "crowding" of Cheyennes into occupations that are low-paying and require few skills is typical of other minority groups and for women in the U.S. as well. The fact that Cheyennes suffer this sort of discrimination on their own reservation confirms the extent to which economic and employment development on the reservation has been controlled by outsiders.

The second major cause of low income shown by the 1975 household survey was (and is) high rates of unemployment and underemployment. Many persons would like to work who cannot find work. The unemployment rate for Northern Cheyennes on the reservation is at least 40%. In addition many people who do find work do

not manage to stay employed all year, due primarily to the seasonality of many jobs and the fact that many government-funded jobs rely on programs with insecure sources of funding or on programs that have fluctuating funding levels.

1. The Reservation's Place in the Regional Economy

What do these figures mean? They mean that the reservation occupies a particular niche in the regional economy. It is a niche where jobs are scarce compared to the number of people who want to work. It is a niche where educational attainment is rewarded only narrowly because of the low wages people generally receive. It is a niche where outsiders, non-Indians and members of other tribes fill the majority of professional and managerial jobs.

In days past, when the small family farm was still economically viable, Cheyenne families relied on hunting, subsistence farming, and small-scale stock production. Today, when farms are getting larger and larger, very few families make their living from agriculture. The number of Northern Cheyenne families engaged in ranching today has been estimated to be between 50 and 70 families, or only 10% of all Northern Cheyenne families on the reservation And it is a relatively small number of these ranching families who control the majority of reservation land. In other words, the agricultural economy of the region has affected the reservation in the same way it has affected the surrounding area: larger ranches

and fewer ranchers. When the economy proved unable to support large numbers of non-Indians, they moved out. But this area is the homeland of the Northern Cheyenne people. The reservation is their final home. There are many reasons that keep the Cheyenne people here besides economic ones.

Another important consideration must be taken into account in order to understand the niche occupied by the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in the regional economy. This consideration has to do not only with the regional economy but also with the national economy. For economically the Northern Cheyenne Reservation shares certain characteristics that are common among all Indian reservations in the nation. These similarities cannot be explained by any attributes of the Indian people, for the Indian cultures of this country in many ways differ as much from each other as they do from non-Indian ways of life. Furthermore, they cannot be explained by reluctance of Indians to leave their reservations to seek better economic conditions, for Indians who have moved to the cities to seek employment opportunities there have, on the whole but with notable exceptions, fared little better economically than their relatives and friends who stayed on the reservation.

Urban Indians occupy the same niche in the cities that reservation Indians occupy in the country: they are predominantly employed in occupations requiring few if any skills, much work available to them is seasonal or temporary, and they receive very low

wages. This employment pattern is common among other minority or ethnic groups and among women as well. It attests to the fact that our economic system, while it may be the best economic system in the world, has not provided equal economic opportunity for everyone.

For many reasons, then, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation occupies a unique niche in the regional economy. Some reasons have to do with political history: the Tribe was finally subdued but subsequently won back a small portion of its homeland to maintain for future generations of Northern Cheyennes. Some reasons have to do with our national economic system, in which economic inequality is experienced disproportionately by groups that have been politically or socially oppressed, and particularly by groups that are non-white. Some reasons have to do with the nature of the regional economy: ever larger farms and ranches mean relatively fewer people can make a living off the land than was possible some years ago.

To sum up, the reservation economy is characterized by an agricultural base that supports relatively few people. Yet the population is large due to historical circumstances. The public service and governmental needs of a relatively large population, in turn, make possible employment in federal and tribal government and in the schools. Over the past half-century the majority of the population have shifted from a subsistence-oriented economy to a wage-oriented economy. Yet this shift has brought relative-

ly little increase in prosperity to the Tribe because not enough jobs have been created and because the majority of jobs that exist pay very low wages.

Clearly some form of economic development is needed. But what form should it take? In the remainder of this chapter, we will discuss the development options that have been suggested by tribal members themselves, and some of the problems associated with each development option. This discussion will be continued in Chapter IV, which concludes with a list of thirteen suggested guidelines to apply to tribal economic development decisions.

2. Economic Development Options

What are some of the development options open to the Tribe? a few of the most frequently mentioned ones will be discussed.

a. Residentiary Businesses

When tribal members were asked in a 1975 household survey what businesses they would like to see the Tribe operate, to improve the general economy of the reservation, various kinds of stores and recreational businesses such as a theater were most frequently mentioned (see Chapter IV, Table IV-3). Currently most of the residentiary businesses in the area, such as stores and gas stations, are owned and/or managed by non-Indians. A number of tribal members are

interested in starting up businesses of their own, and tribal members are aware of the benefits of the "multiplier effect." The mulitplier effect means that if there are more local businesses, more dollars will be spent in the local community, providing more jobs, and keeping more money on the reservation. Currently a high proportion of the income recieved by tribal members is spent off the reservation, particularly in Billings and Hardin, and that which is spent on-reservation most often goes to non-Indian owned businesses.

Difficulties that face tribal members who attempt to go into business for themsleves include the following: 1) It is very difficult for Indians to obtain capital and/or credit to start a business. 2) While there seems to be considerable room for more local businesses, it must be remembered that people's shopping patterns may be hard to break. In the 1975 household survey 60-70% of the respondents said they bought non-food items such as clothing and furniture in Billings or Hardin (see Chapter IV, Table IV-4). The reasons given over and over again for this shopping pattern were that the larger towns offered more variety of goods and had cheaper prices. If the gas and mileage costs of a trip to Billings are counted into the price of items purchased, it would probably cancel out the cheaper price paid in Billings. But the variety Billings offers would be difficult to match locally. Furthermore, there are reasons to go to Billings besides economy-- recreational opportunities and the fun of getting away must also be taken into

account. 3) A final difficulty to be faced by most tribal members is the lack of experience in business, coupled with the cultural constraints against an individual gaining at the expense of his fellow tribal members. The profit motive is not an easy one to develop or sustain when one is a member of a closeknit community that places value on sharing and egalitarian ethics. Partly for this reason, and also because it is felt by tribal members that the Tribe as a whole should benefit from economic development, it is recommended in Chapter IV that at least some businesses that are started be tribally-owned and non-profit. This would apply particularly to businesses large enough to employ more than a single individual and his or her family. And it would apply particularly to businesses that provide essentials such as a grocery store or a timber operation that supplied building materials for housing.

To list the above difficulties that tribal members might encounter in starting tribal business is not to say that solutions cannot be found, but only that the difficulties must be taken into account.

b. Timber Development

Timber development and a tribally-operated sawmill were the third most frequently mentioned in the 1975 household survey (after stores and recreational businesses) as businesses that the Tribe

might operate to improve the general economy of the reservation (see Chapter IV, Table IV-3). Timber development can offer employment to tribal members as well as provide revenues to the Tribe. In the past tribal timber has been sold directly to non-Indians for processing. There are two sawmills in the area, a small one in Lame Deer and a larger one in off-reservation Ashland, but the Tribe has not owned or operated either one.

Difficulties facing a tribal timber operation including a sawmill are primarily the large capital requirements and lack of local expertise to manage such an operation. These difficulties have led the Tribe in the past to contract timber sales to an outside developer. The problem with such an arrangement is that it does not increase the Tribe's independent productive capacity, and it has not to date resulted in locally trained people who could take over management of such an operation.

c. Agricultural Development

Agricultural development was the fourth most frequently suggested tribal business endeavor in the 1975 household survey. The Northern Cheyenne Reservation's range resources are owned almost exclusively by tribal members who are ranchers. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is unusual among Montana reservations in this respect, for most tribes have lost a good portion of their land to non-Indian

ranchers, and lease substantial portions of their remaining land to non-Indians.

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe at one time operated a ranching enterprise but sold it to allow its individual ranchers to use the land. Expansion of the ranching sector would most likely require an increased land base. The possibility of obtaining grazing leases on federal lands off the reservation was investigated by the Rho Corporation and found to be an unlikely possibility (see Volume II of this report). However, this investigation was preliminary, and the Tribe may wish to explore this or other possibilities for ranching expansion in more detail in the future.

Increased irrigated cropland development is currently being undertaken by the Northern Cheyenne Landowners Association. Further investigation of agricultural development was not made by the Northern Cheyenne Research Project because other organizations such as the Landowners Association are actively at work in this area.

d. Coal Development

Coal development was the fifth most frequently mentioned tribal business possibility in the 1975 household survey. However, it was usually qualified by respondents to mean a small coal mine for local use, or a tribally owned and operated coal mine. The feasibility of a small coal mine for local use was investigated by the Rho

Corporation (see Volume II of this report). According to this study, a small coal mine for local use is not expected to be profitable (the preliminary Rho Corporation study suggested that it would operate at a loss), and it would provide very little employment, but it would provide coal to tribal members who now have to buy their coal from Sheridan. The purpose of the small coal mine would be to make tribal coal available to tribal members who are often economically hard pressed during the winter months to buy the fuel they need. In other words, it would be a service rather than a profit-making venture. Its purpose would be community betterment rather than economic gain.

Large scale coal development on the reservation was not included in our investigations.

Large scale coal development off the reservation offers some possibility for Cheyenne employment. The employment and population impacts of a hypothetical 4.6 million ton per year coal mine located off the reservation in the Tongue River Valley area were investigated by the Rho Corporation (see Volume II). However, off-reservation coal development controlled by non-Indian corporations has not greatly benefitted the Northern Cheyennes in the past. The 1975 household survey showed that only a handful of Cheyennes had ever been employed at Colstrip, Sarpy Creek (Westmoreland Absaloka Mine), or Decker. This applies both to the mining operations themselves and to the construction of power plants. During the peak of

construction of Colstrip electrical generating units One and Two which are located 20 miles north of Lame Deer, only 12 Cheyennes were employed there, comprising only 3% of the construction labor force (7). The Northern Cheyennes' experience with off-reservation coal development so far has matched closely the experiences of other Indian reservation groups with major off-reservation development. Large numbers of non-Indians came into the area, and it was the non-Indians who received most of the jobs and most of the income from the operation (8). This pattern is common for large construction projects, and is not likely to change. A study by Mountain West Research for the Old West Regional Commission showed that typically the majority of construction workers come from outside the local area (9). In other words, Indians are likely to get the fewest jobs, non-Indian local people are likely to get the next smallest proportion, while the majority of jobs will most likely go to non-Indians from outside the local area.

e. Labor Intensive Industry

The unemployment rate on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation is about 40%, very high by any standards. There are many people who would like to work but cannot find jobs. In addition, earlier this year, the Guild Arts and Crafts manufacturing facility in Ashland

closed down. This factory had offered jobs to about 80 Northern Cheyennes each year, and had been in operation since 1960.

Labor intensive industry can be feasible in this area in spite of the long distance to markets and relatively poor transportation facilities because Northern Cheyennes have been willing to work for very low wages. The advantages to the Cheyennes of labor intensive industry are that it does provide jobs and it also provides a work environment where Northern Cheyennes can work together. However, the wages provided in such an operation are so low (usually the minimum wage) that persons working there are classed among the "working poor." In other words, even though they work full time they cannot escape the hardships of poverty, because the wages they receive are not adequate to comfortably support a family.

The disadvantage of low wages that are typical of labor intensive industry might not mean poverty to individual families if the Tribe were able to develop a self-sufficient economy. In a self-sufficient economy, housing, fuel, and food would be cheaper, and the income received by individual workers would therefore go farther.

The principle advantage of labor intensive industry is that it provides jobs to the Northern Cheyenne people. However, if it is the result of development controlled by outsiders, like other such development it will not increase the independent productive capacity of the Tribe. There is no value-added, there is no multiplier effect (except as the minmal purchasing power of the payroll can sup-

port other businesses), and there is no increase in the Tribe's capital base that can provide for further development.

3. Conclusion

Over the past century the BIA, and others, have encouraged the Northern Cheyenne Tribe to join the "mainstream." At first they were encouraged to be farmers and ranchers. When it became clear the land could not support everyone, they were encouraged to become wage laborers. This has happened. A 1975 Northern Cheyenne household survey showed that 87% of all income received by Northern Cheyenne families was earned in the labor market. More recently, the BIA encouraged the Tribe to sell its coal resources for 17.5¢ a ton to major coal companies.

Looked at in another way, it could be said that BIA policy has been to get the Tribe's resources, land, timber, minerals, and human labor into the "mainstream." Never has there been advice to guide the Tribe in developing its internal economic strength, its independent productive capacity.

The BIA has always encouraged the Tribe to develop jobs, not productivity. Consequently, it has not encouraged (or helped) the Tribe to find the capital and develop the expertise necessary for the Tribe to develop its own resources. Rather it has encouraged the Tribe to allow outside developers to use tribal resources, and for the Tribe to be content with resulting jobs and

revenues. Furthermore, it has not helped the Tribe fight for the best possible contracts; it seems rather to have made contracts that offer the best possible deal to outside developers. It has been argued that such arrangements offer some benefits to the Tribe with no risk. But there has been a risk assumed by the Tribe: it is the risk of continued dependency on outside developers and on the federal government for jobs.

There is no easy answer to the problems tribes face in making development decisions about their resources. In the first place, the tribes walk a narrow line when it comes to questions of dependency and self-sufficiency. Tribes which have shown signs of becoming self-sufficient in the past have been quick targets for termination legislation, which strips the tribes of federal trust status. Termination in every case has been an economic, social, and political disaster for tribes, but yet it is still promulgated by non-Indian policy makers. In the face of termination threats, self-sufficiency can be more dangerous than dependency. Such factors make tribal development very difficult.

In the second place, tribes must steer clear of the apparently easy roads to economic development. This is the road that BIA policy has pushed tribes along in the past. It is a road that many, perhaps most, economists would recommend. They would be optimistic about the benefits the Tribe could gain from development controlled and managed by outside non-Indian corporations (10).

They would believe that getting Indian resources into the mainstream of the national economy would have the greatest economic value for the Tribe. They would look primarily at dollar values, at cost-benefit ratios, and at profit. Since the method of placing a value on the development has primarily dollar values in mind, and usually a short-term view of dollar return, the benefits of the development might look good. But experience has shown that this sort of development in the long term leaves tribes relatively impoverished, not wealthier, less in control of their own resources and more dependent on outsiders than they were previously (11). What is needed instead are economic development alternatives that place high value on long-term self-sufficiency, and on developments that will serve the long-term needs of the community, developments that will enhance its social and political strength as well as its economic strength.

This leads to the third point, that cultural considerations must be an integral part of any development scheme. The incompatibility between white economic values and the Indian way of life have been frequently documented and have resulted in continuous cultural, political and economic conflict since the beginnings of Indian-white contact. These differences will be brought out in the next Chapter titled "Cultural Considerations," and again in Chapter IV, "Northern Cheyenne Tribal Members' Evaluation of Economic Development: The Social, Cultural, Economic, and Environmental Effects." To briefly mention the most critical differences, white economic values are

competitive, accumulative, and individualistic, whereas Cheyenne social values are those that work best for a small stable community: generosity, cooperation, and concern for the group's welfare (12). Since white economic values are geared to maximize efficiency and profit, there is little room for Cheyenne community values in the competitive market place. It is in large part for this reason that Cheyennes have been pressured so heavily by outsiders to give up their social and cultural values-- they are not economically competitive with white values. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe has made many concessions to non-Indian demands, but as a tribal entity it has always been and remains strong. The legacy left by Northern Cheyenne ancestors in their return from Oklahoma a hundred years ago gives strength and inspiration to tribal members today, and provides a focus for tribal unity and the maintenance of traditional social values.

In Chapter V we show in theoretical terms that there is no need for one social group to become socially and culturally like another social group in order for it to participate in the same economic system. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe need not give up its tribalness, nor its core values, in order to participate more effectively in the economy. However, if Cheyenne cultural values are to be honored in economic development schemes, these schemes will have to have a very different orientation than non-Indian economists would be likely to envision. Thirteen guidelines for economic development that is

consistent with Cheyenne values are offered in Chapter IV. A principle difference from the usual non-Indian orientation is that in any development of tribal resources, the Tribe as a whole should benefit. In the past it has usually been individuals who were most willing to go along with the white man's ways and values who have benefitted from economic development. Individuals who have held more steadfastly to the Cheyenne way of life have usually benefitted less from economic developments. Yet the resources are held by the Tribe as a whole, and it is generally felt that the entire Tribe should benefit. Also, since the Tribe is a social and political entity, development that serves the long-term interest of the Tribe must bring not only financial benefit but must also serve to strengthen the social and political fabric of the Tribe. There is a strong interrelationship between economic and community development in the minds of tribal members. This is brought out clearly in Chapter IV.

We must re-emphasize that there are no easy answers to Northern Cheyenne economic development. The three problems just mentioned (the ever present threat of termination, the "resource extraction" orientation of many policy-makers and economists, and the difficulties of cultural differences and value conflicts) are only a sample of the problems Indian tribes face as they make development decisions. In light of these difficulties, perhaps the most sensible course is the one the Tribe is now following-- essentially holding steady until clearer alternatives present themselves. Most of the Tribe's

efforts toward economic development will probably be groundbreaking in nature. There are few if any successful examples of tribal economic development to draw on, whether from here or from other tribes. This tribe has not had the opportunity to guide its own economic development in the past. It may well develop examples that will be models for others to follow. Whatever the outcome, as one tribal councilman put it, "It's sure a lot easier to live with your own mistakes than to live with the mistakes others made for you."

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II

(1) R. McAdams, The Evolution of Urban Society (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

(2) Verne Dusenberry, The Varying Cultures of the Northern Cheyenne (Missoula, Montana: M.A. Thesis, University of Montana, 1956).

(3) John Stands In Timber and Margot Liberty, Cheyenne Memories (Lincoln: University of Nebrask Press, 1972).

(4) Thomas B. Marquis, Cheyenne and Sioux, Reminiscences of Four Indians and a White Soldier, Ronal H. Limbaugh, Ed. (Stockton, California: University of the Pacific, 1973), p. 6.

(5) We are indebted to Dwayne Ward who first suggested the important distinction between resource development and resource extraction to us.

(6) United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the U.S., 1976 (97th Edition) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976).

(7) Suzanne Trusler, Testimony at the Hearings Before the Board of Natural Resources and Conservation on Colstrip Units 3 and 4 (Helena, Montana, 1976), Vol 38, pp. 7445-7470. See also the Northern Cheyenne Research Project's Second Annual Report (Lame Deer, Montana, 1975), pp. 31-32.

(8) This was the experience of the Navajo Reservation with development of a hydroelectric plant at Page, Arizona, in the late 1960s, and occured there again with the development of the coal-fired Navajo Generating Station in the 1970s. See Nancy J. Owens, Indian Reservations and Bordertowns: The Metropolis-Satellite Model Applied to the Northwestern Navajos and the Umatillas (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms; Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1976). Also see D.G. Callaway, J.E. Levy, and E.B. Henderson, The Effects of Power Production and Strip-Mining on Local Navajo Populations. Lake Powell Research Project Bulletin No. 22 (Los Angeles: Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, University of California, 1976).

(9) Mountain West Research, Inc., "Community Report, Forsyth and Colstrip, Montana" of the Construction Worker Profile (Billings, Montana: A Report Prepared for the Old West Regional Commission, 1975).

(10) We are indebted to Bruce Nordstrom for pointing out the optimism of economists with a "modernization" approach to development. See Nordstrom, "Two Ways of Looking at Economic Development" (mimeo, 1977).

(11) Nancy J. Owens has shown on the Umatilla Reservation in eastern Oregon and on the northwestern part of the Navajo Reservation near Page, Arizona, that over a period of 50 years there was no increase in the prosperity of either tribe relative to non-Indian society. During this 50-year period both tribes had shifted from reliance on their own resources to reliance on wage labor. Both reservation areas were located next to bordertowns that were the focal points of local economic development. And both tribes had lost control of significant portions of their own resources as a result of local development, yet had not made any significant gains in income relative to non-Indians. Indeed, considering that they had lost control of valuable resources, they had become relatively impoverished, and more dependent on outsiders to provide jobs and income than they had been previously. There were many differences in the two reservation-bordertown situations. Development in the Umatilla area was based on wheat. Development in the Navajo area was based on water, minerals, and electric power generation. But the results for the Indians were the same. See Owens, op. cit., 1976 (footnote 8 above), and Nancy J. Owens, "TheEffects of Reservation Bordertowns and Energy Exploitation on Indian Economic Development," a paper presented at the 1976 Annual Meetings of the American Anthropology Association, Washington, D.C.

This situation has occurred in one form or another on most reservations. There has been much pressure by the BIA and by the coal companies for it to happen on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. So far the Northern Cheyenne Tribe has managed to resist this pressure to sacrifice its resources in return for a handful of temporary jobs and some cash income.

(12) Jean Nordstrom, Chapter IV in this report.

CHAPTER III

NORTHERN CHEYENNE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

Statements by: Jo Ann Sooktis, Pearl Young Bear, Pat Little Wolf, Martin Round Stone, Harry Little Bird, Rubie Sooktis, Nelson Tall Bull, Sr., Bertha Medicine Bull, and Tom Rock Roads, Jr.

Preface: James P. Boggs.

Introduction, Comments, and Editing: James P. Boggs and Jo Ann Sooktis.

A. Preface

This chapter makes some limited comparisons between Northern Cheyenne and white culture. The purpose of these comparisons is not to say that one way of life is better than another, but rather to provide a basis for understanding how conflicts between the two ways of life may occur.

Although their purpose is educative rather than judgemental, these comparisons are not made as an academic exercise. They are not directed to a classroom, removed from the "real world," where learning is directed to distant goals like self-improvement or getting a job. Instead, this report is written in a situation that is very political, that directly involves such real world considerations as billions of dollars, national energy policies, and the continuance of an entire way of life. This makes it perhaps more important than is usually the case in reports of this kind to

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explain some of the context of what we have written.

One important situational context involves some difficult and paradoxical relationships between power, knowledge, and responsibility. The difficulties are not so much for the Tribe directly as for the white power structure with which it must deal. The first paradox starts with power. The economic and technological development that made it possible for the white newcomers to take over this continent in the first place has grown. This growth as both created and centralized immense power, economically, socially, and politically. Those who happen to wield this power off the Reservation are almost all white people. Even locally on the Reservation there are many important positions in the schools, in tribal and other programs, and in the BIA that are held by whites.

It is a basic moral and practical truth that with power comes responsibility, and that responsibility requires knowledge and understanding. In this case, specific responsibilities entered into by the U.S. as a result of its depriving Indian tribes of their original lands and livelihoods and of ensuing treaty settlements also enter the picture.

Here is where the first dilemma, the first difficult paradox, enters the scene. The paradox is that partly as a result of the imbalance of power itself many white people have not learned about Cheyenne culture or ways. The one-sided power structure seems to have promoted a certain arrogance and lack of concern on the one side, and an often justified defensiveness on the other. As a result, whites are often shielded from the intercultural knowledge and

experience needed to use their administrative and other powers responsibly. It becomes impossible for them to meet their various responsibilities to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe wisely and well.

Perhaps it is in this context that we may partially understand how the BIA, as the Tribe's trustee, could engineer, supervise, and approve the sale of coal leases covering fifty-six percent of the Reservation's land area. The development of these leases as planned would unquestionably have meant the end of the Northern Cheyenne way of life in any recognizable form (see, e.g., (1), (2), and the Introduction above), and it would not seem in hindsight to take an expert, or really anything more, one would think, than a basic familiarity with the situation, in order to anticipate this grim consequence. Yet the BIA did approve these sales, and this fact takes some pondering. How could they have done that? Perhaps the paradoxical relationships between power and knowledge can help explain that event.

On the one hand, cultural knowledge is needed by whites to meet the various moral and practical responsibilities that they acquire through their exercise of political/economic power, and through their exercise of the power that comes simply from expertise in fields that have become important to Indian tribes. But on the other hand, there is another aspect of the relationship between power, knowledge, and responsibility that adds yet another dimension of paradox and contradiction into the situation. In all fairness, it must be recognized that knowledge is a two-edged sword, especially when questions

of power or control are directly involved. Knowledge can be used for good or for ill. It can become the foundation for more responsible actions or for even more effective irresponsible actions.

The question of responsibility itself is a difficult one when people find themselves in complicated situations. For example we may consider the Bureau of Indian Affairs one more time. The BIA is under the Department of the Interior. Is a BIA employee responsible to the Department of the Interior or to the tribe (or tribes) he serves? This has been a difficult question when Interior's goal is national energy independence through coal development, a tribe's goal is to protect its natural resources and ways of life, and these are not compatible goals. Perfectly honest and well-meaning people are capable of acting against the best interests of the tribe when national policies, great sums of money, conflicting values, and lack of understanding on both sides are involved.

It is at this point that the general difficulties inherent in the overall situation become translated into specific difficulties for the tribe and for ourselves as tribal employees. The tribe is in a difficult position. The tribe needs certain statistical and other information for its own use, yet can get this information only through grants from public agencies that require its public disclosure. The tribe needs to inform whites of social and cultural considerations on the reservation so that they can act responsibly,

yet neither the Tribe nor those of us who are helping to gather this information can insure that this knowledge will in fact be used responsibly. There is always the question whether in the highly political situation we face here, any information the Tribe lets out will be used for it or against it by outside whites. For this reason some tribal members oppose all surveys and all studies on the Reservation, and their position is realistic and reasonable.

For example, one specific aspect of this problem is that any statistical information the Tribe makes available can and probably will be used in compiling environmental impact statements, which under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA), will provide a necessary legal basis for white-controlled development around the Reservation. Such development may affect the Reservation adversely while providing very few benefits to tribal members, especially if the Tribe has no say whatever in how they are planned. Furthermore, the Tribe is much less likely to be able to participate directly in these studies if technical information about the Reservation is already available (see Chapter II below). Social and cultural information could also be used, for example by interests who may want to direct the Tribe itself into development on the Reservation. Such interests were very active on the Reservation before the Supreme Court decided the Hollow Breast Case (The Northern Cheyenne Tribe vs. Hollowbreast 44 CAPLCAPW 4655) in favor of the Tribe (see also the Introduction, this volume).

Clearly the power gap on the Indian side is closing somewhat, with court victories establishing the Tribe's legal position, greater understanding of the issues and forces involved, and increasing Tribal unification on the issues of development. This makes closing the knowledge gap of whites easier for the Tribe and this is why we are writing this chapter. But on the one side there is still one small Indian tribe, operating on a shoestring budget, unable at present to use its coal resource without losing all it is fighting for; and on the other side are multinational corporations working hand-in-glove with powerful governmental agencies. The stakes are high and the issue is still in doubt--so the Tribe is in a high-risk position either way, whether it collects and lets out information or not.

Basically, we have been considering the fact that outside interests may be in an equal or better position to use our data and information than the Tribe itself is, because these outside interests have greater available resources, more power, and more room in which to manuever than does the Tribe. This is what we mean by the power gap. The knowledge gap on the side of whites is also a simplistic concept for a complex situation; but it also points to a general circumstance that we have to consider in writing this report.

Whites in general do not know very much about other cultures, including Northern Cheyenne culture. But there is more to it than this. There is also an attitude held by many whites that other cultures and ways of life are either inferior or not important.

Progress ("our way") marches on, and people just have to adapt. "Our Way" is better anyhow. Social scientists have a term for this attitude; they call it "ethnocentrism." It can be illustrated by a letter printed in the Billings Gazette (see the Appendix below).

Admittedly, this is an extreme example. But it is contemporary (within the last year), it could be multiplied indefinitely, and history bears out that it is an expression of a deepseated and long-term trend in Anglo-American culture. Probably all societies have elements of ethnocentrism, and anyone who wants to work with people from another culture or background needs to be aware of this phenomenon. For many whites it is an important part of the knowledge gap.

Ethnocentrism could be defined as a tendency to judge everything from within one limited cultural framework, and a lack of understanding and knowledge, including self-knowledge. So in many cases it could be important for whites to learn not only about another culture, but also about their own culture in relation to another culture.

Professor Clarence "Pete" Mondale, a distinguished teacher of American Studies, observed recently in Billings (3) that the "American dream" has had a bright side, but it has also had a dark side. The American dream included the dream of a fresh start on a new continent without the rigid social and political rules of Europe, the image of the individual frontiersman standing successfully and alone against nature, a new egalitarian social order, and so on. But the

dark side of this dream has included loneliness, alienation, the loss of roots, and the over-exploitation of nature leading to the energy crisis. One of Mondale's points was that Anglo-American whites have looked mostly at the bright side, and have been a little too sure that their way of life is better than any other, and have forced it on others too eagerly. At this point, he said, we need to take a fresh clear look at ourselves and to develop more thoughtfulness and humility. This is excellent advice in any circumstance, and especially as we contemplate future courses for economic development in the southeastern Montana area.

B. THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBE

The accompanying diagrams (Figures III-1a & 1b) show that the important difference between Northern Cheyenne and white society is the Tribe. Both diagrams begin with the individual who is a member of a family. Here already the differences start. The Northern Cheyenne family, both traditionally and today, is larger than the nuclear family for most whites. This is possible because the Cheyenne family is a member of a tribe that has a homeland that holds people together.

Then the family is a member of a community. The Tribe as a whole, of course, is the major community, but it is divided into political districts which in a general way also correspond to traditional local communities within the Tribe. These communities occupy different portions of the Reservation: roughly, the Birney,

Busby, Ashland, Lame Deer, and Muddy Creek areas.

The Northern Cheyenne family and the immediate local reservation communities correspond roughly to the family and perhaps to the neighborhood communities of whites, although there are important differences. But the next level, the Tribal level, has no counterpart in white society at all. Then, of coures, the final most inclusive level is the "American Society" in its broadest sense, which at this level is not really so much a society as it is a political economy. This is the same for Indians and for whites, although as we have seen, Indians tend to occupy a different niche within it.

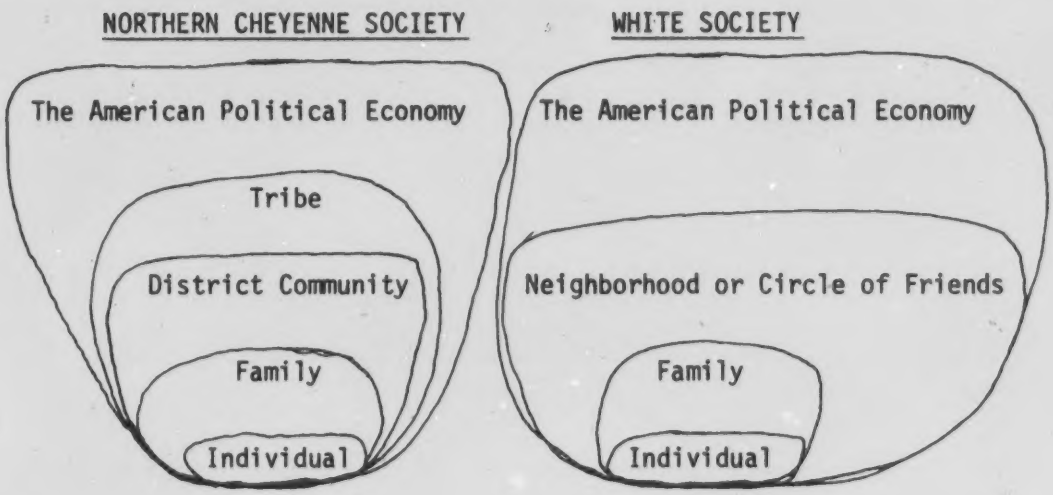


Fig. III-1a Fig. III-1b

Figure III-1: Schematic Diagram of the levels of Northern Cheyenne and Anglo-American social organization. The social organization of white Americans lacks the tribal level that is so important to Northern Cheyennes.

The important thing is to realize fully that the word "Tribe" is not just a meaningless carry-over from the past. It has many meanings that are central to the life of every Northern Cheyenne. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is a distinct and unique society, with its own language, culture, and well-defined territorial base. The Tribe is both society and community for the Northern Cheyenne people. It is the Tribe as a society of people that carries on Cheyenne culture and language. The Tribe has remained as the core of Northern Cheyenne life through all the changes, all the trials and suffering, all the repression that the people have experienced during the last century. Tribal social organization, social institutions, and social values are what give meaning and substance to the whole of Northern Cheyenne life and culture.

The previous chapter explained how the original buffalo-based economy of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe was lost, to be replaced by quite different ways of making a living: first cattle and subsistence agriculture, and then wage labor. The Tribe also experienced distruption of its original political system, which consisted of the Council of Forty-Four Chiefs and the Soldier Societies. This was first systematically undermined and destroyed by governmental policies (1) and then replaced in 1936, under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, with the present form of tribal government based on an elected chairman and tribal programs. The Tribe has always had strong leadership, and that is true today as in the past. The tribal council form of goverment has worked well for the Tribe

in many of its dealings with white legal and political institutions, but it has also weakened the voice of traditional leaders and chiefs in governing tribal affairs.

As far as traditional ways are concerned, then, two important dimensions of tradtitional life, the Tribe's traditional economic and political systems, have changed or been lost. But Northern Cheyenne tribal society has remained strong, and has supported other traditional ways that are most directly related to the organized relationships between one person and another, and between people and groups (which is what society is). These other traditional ways that depend on the Northern Cheyenne Tribe as an organized society are language, religion, social values, and traditional ways of teaching and learning.

The central place of the Tribe in Northern Cheyenne life is is represented in Figure III-2. The Tribe itself is represented by the outline of its homeland, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The diamond-shaped Morning Star symbol is the traditional symbol of the Tribe. Here it represents the Tribe's history and its future; it especially represents the flight north from Oklahoma led by Morning Star and Little Wolf that won this reservation for the Northern Cheyenne people, and the concern for the Tribe's future that these great chiefs expressed by their action and that is maintained today with the help of their example. The circle is the whole of Northern Cheyenne life in its entirety. It is the Cheyenne symbol of wholeness. The feathers symbolize some of the aspects of community life that can

be conceptually abstracted from the living whole, and that become the basis for social theories. Tribal politics and economics are in parentheses to show that they no longer function in the traditional ways.

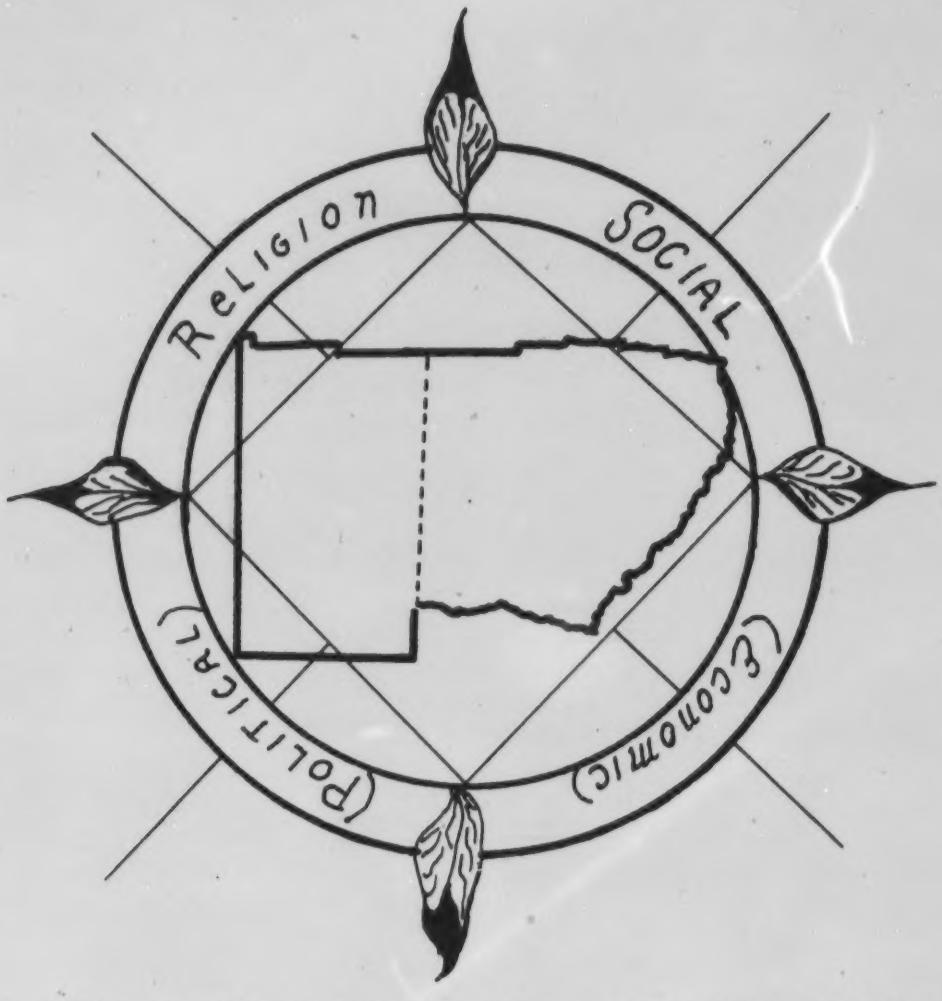


Figure III-2: The Circle of Northern Cheyenne Life with its Religious, Social, Economic, and Political Aspects (Other Aspects Symbolized by the Feathers), Surrounding the Northern Cheyenne Tribe (Symbolized by the Reservation), and Tribal History (Symbolized by the Morning Star Symbol). See accompanying Text.

C. PASSING TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE ON THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

1. Introduction

The most important thing is Life--Cheyenne Life, Life as a Cheyenne. Without this there is nothing.

Then after Life comes values and knowledge. Our Grandparents are the most important, and our parents, because from them comes our Life, our values, and our knowledge.

Life as it is lived with the values and knowledge of our Tribe and the Elders results in wisdom. Wisdom is the Cheyenne Life as it is lived day-by-day.

All of this is what we will pass on to our children and our grandchildren.

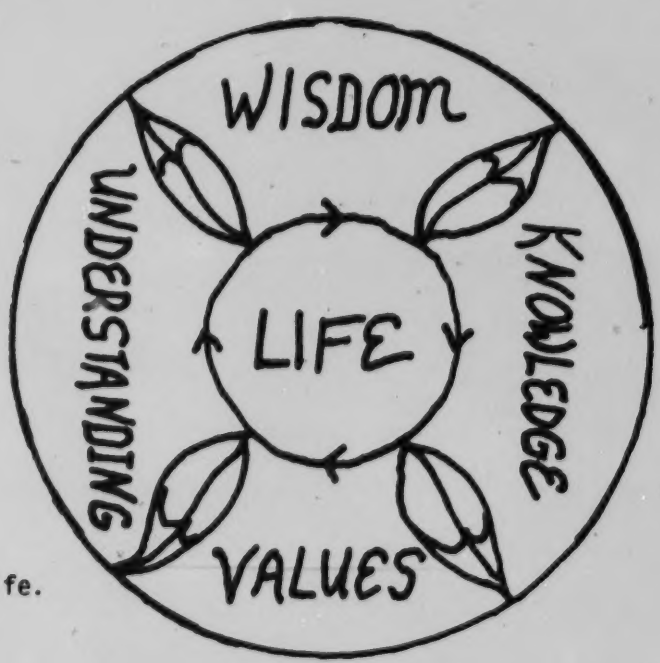


Figure III-3:
Cheyenne Life.

2. Teaching and Learning

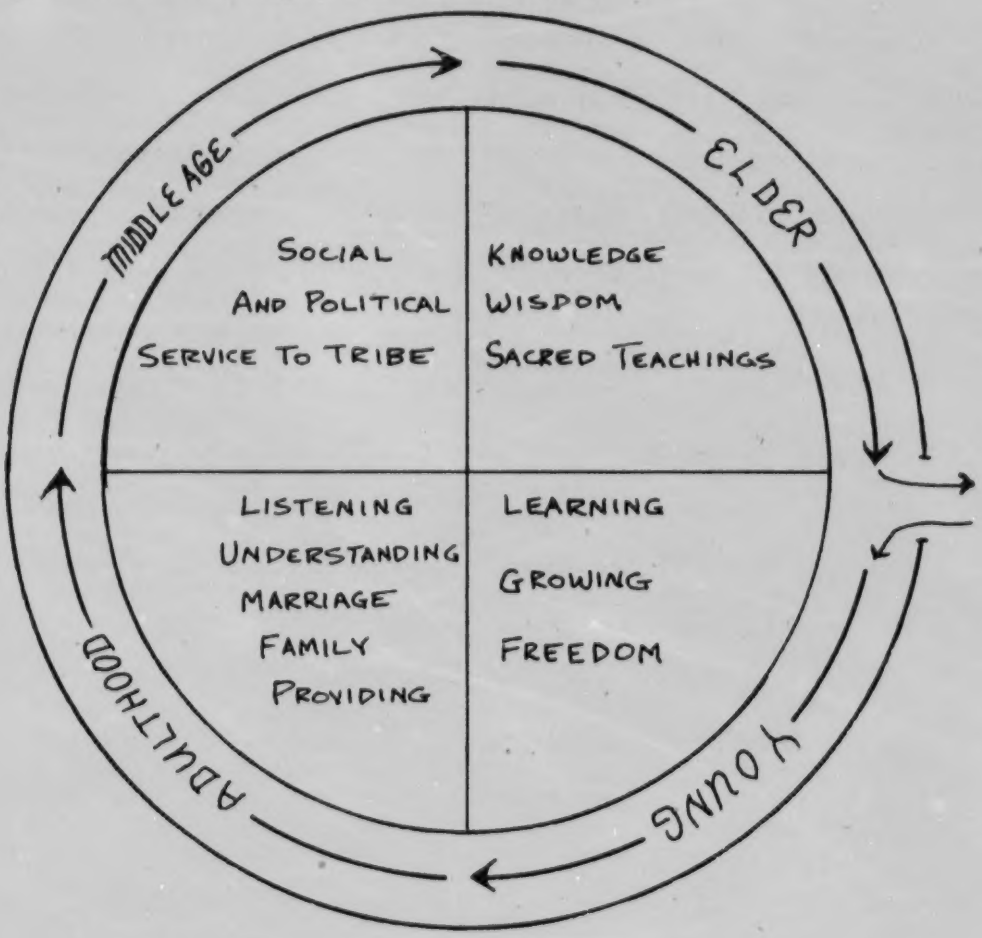
We will begin with Northern Cheyenne ways of teaching and learning, because these are the ways that traditional knowledge is passed down from one generation to another. It is important to realize that we are not talking about "school" in the sense of schools with paid teachers, classrooms, and so forth, that teach the skills needed to survive in the white world. Neither are we talking about traditional Cheyenne education as it was practiced thirty or a hundred years ago. Instead we are talking about the way that traditional knowledge is passed on today.

Many circumstances have affected the transmission of traditional knowledge, mostly negatively. Some of these will be mentioned later. It is impossible to know how many young people have received or are receiving traditional teachings, since there are no roll-calls, grades, or statistics to measure the successes and failures of this training system, as there are in the white-oriented schools on and around the Reservation. So we will talk generally in terms of ideals. But these ideals are often realized in practices; traditional ways are a strong and vital current flowing from the old to the young as the Tribe moves into the future.

Northern Cheyenne education takes place in the context of the Cheyenne Circle of Life (see Figure III-4). The young person enters this Circle of Life to the east, and as a child he or she travels down toward the south. This is a period of learning and growth.

The child is protected from too much responsibility, or from having to deal with problems and difficulties of adult life.

Figure III-4: The Cheyenne Circle of Life.



Parents ideally avoid arguing in front of their children, and do not talk of weighty problems and difficulties facing their family or the Tribe when young people are present. There will be time

enough for these things later. When a person is twelve or thirteen, he or she is old enough to receive some of the teachings, and to be talked to in a serious way.

As the person passes around the circle to the west, he or she enters the age of marriage and of adult responsibility. This is a busy time, filled with making a living and caring for children. There is not time to enter into the full complexity and discipline required to develop wisdom. This comes as the person leaves middle age, and travels to the north, the time of old age. Eventually, the person travels all the way around the circle, and leaves this life in the east to rejoin Ma'he'o, God. The Circle encompasses all of life, and begins and ends with the creator.

Each age has its place, and fulfills important functions in the life of the Tribe. Education takes place in the home, but is not the primary or the only responsibility of the parents. They are too busy and not yet ready themselves to pass on traditional ways. Rather this is the function of the grandparents and the tribal Elders. So knowledge flows back from the old to the young. (For a fuller discussion of the Circle of Life and the role of Elders in education see Rubie Sooktis, Cheyenne Journey)(2).

This circle is of vital importance for every Cheyenne. It defines the person's responsibilities as a Cheyenne, and is quite a different view of life than that held by whites. Although whites

have no standard way to express it, most seem to see the progression through life as a linear process, beginning with birth and ending with death. The most important goals in life for most whites are measured in material terms, rather than in terms of the growth of wisdom or of service to the community. A white person is usually held in highest regard during the most productive years. In general, unless a person has been able to accumulate a great deal of wealth and power, old age is a time of declining prestige. In Anglo-American culture, there is no real place for old age in the scheme of things.

In contrast, Cheyenne Elders are important to the community. Elders are looked to for guidance and wisdom. An Elder has nearly completed the circle of life, and knows the Cheyenne way of life in all its fullness. So the Elder knows what is important for each generation to know and to do as it also passes around the circle from one stage of life to the other.

Because the journey around this circle is a single journey, the role of the Elder affects not just old age but all of life. A Cheyenne knows that eventually he or she will become an Elder, and will have to pass the knowledge acquired from grandparents, parents, and from life to future generations. This is a big responsibility. It involves not just knowledge, but also wisdom. Therefore, it is a part of Cheyenne culture that everyone not only

experiences directly the wisdom and knowledge of Elders who are related and interested in them personally, but at the same time is expected to learn and develop these qualities in themselves to pass in turn to their own descendents.

Although there is much of what we are calling wisdom in white culture and traditions, it is not usually available to the individual in daily life, but only in very specialized contexts. It is pretty much left to books, to ministers, or perhaps to famous philosophers whom only a few people ever meet. Wisdom in white society is not often taught in the schools or transmitted directly from grandparents to grandchildren. It is not the goal or responsibility of the individual in his life either to develop this quality or to pass it on. Wisdom, and all it implies in the way of balance, maturity, harmony, understanding, and knowledge is not a life goal of whites, nor is it often a direct experience in day-to-day living, whereas in Northern Cheyenne culture it is often both of these.

The point of this section is to show that there are values here that are not a general part of white Anglo-American culture--or at least that have a very different expression there. For this reason few whites with the power and authority to plan development programs around the reservation are likely to do so with any sensitivity for these values themselves, or for the way they are maintained in Northern Cheyenne traditions. For example, passing

traditional wisdom and knowledge on to future generations simply is not something that whites generally worry about in their own lives or way of life, any less in the lives of others. A strong concern for the values and ways of life of a traditional local community is equally foreign to most whites.

In order to protect these and many other values and concerns that are unique to the reservation setting it is essential that the Tribe have a genuine voice in any planning documents prepared for this area, and that everything possible be done to nourish tribal self-determination on the reservation itself.

It is better to hear what different people have to say directly, rather than to hear someone else talk about or try to summarize what they have said. For this reason most of the remainder of this section contains direct quotes--statements by Northern Cheyennes of different ages talking about their own experiences and concerns relating to passing on traditional knowledge. Their different statements will give the reality and importance of this area of concern more depth and meaning than our writing about it as a non-Indian and a young Northern Cheyenne ever could. Occasional comments are added to provide a perspective or context for a particular statement, but primarily they speak for themselves.

The teachings contained in some of these statements are personal gifts from one person to another, from grandparent to grandchild.

None of these statements should be taken out of context, or used in any other context than that provided here, without written permission from its author. The authors may be contacted through the Northern Cheyenne Research Project.

3. Statements About Teaching and Learning Cheyenne Ways

(a). "Our grandmother taught us a lot of things as we just played around and she worked. She talked as she did dishes and cleaned up, and somehow we heard her and learned things. She taught us how to dry meat and gather and prepare berries and other wild food, and how to bead. The only thing I can't do is beading, yet my grandmother said we shouldn't learn just part of it, we should learn it all together. She would tell us that someday all these modern conveniences might not be around, and we could always survive here with the things she taught us. Or even if we don't have anything, any money, we could still live here."

Comment: The knowledge of how to survive on this land is an important part of the value of the Reservation to the Northern Cheyenne people (6). The wholeness and integrity of the Cheyenne Way is also an important value.

(b). "Old people have many ways of teaching. My grandmother used to take me up in the hills around here, and under the sandstone cliffs,

here I would find little pieces of stone weathered in the shape of animals. I played with these. She would always make a game out of saying things like: 'I wonder what is beyond that next hill,' or 'How many towns does that river go through?' Or 'what is behind that tree?' or 'around that rock?' She was always stretching out my sense of wonder about the things that were all around."

(c). "Whistling Elk [Northern Cheyenne prophet] used to tell me, 'Whenever you come up against something hard, don't go back or go around it. Go right through it. That is the way you will become strong'."

The relationship between the young and the tribal Elders that instruct them is personal, but it is also a formal relationship that is part of the Cheyenne Circle of Life and Cheyenne society. The young have respect for the Elders and for the traditions and the links with the past that they represent. The Elders have great concern for the young children of the Tribe and for those that are yet unborn, because they are people and will carry the Northern Cheyenne way of life into the future. The relationship between the young and the old carries with it a sense of time and of the continuity of experience and of community that is not a part of white culture.

(d). "You always put your grandparents and parents first. No

matter what you do, your grandparents especially are the most important thing in your life because they carry you back."

"I always say that people who have grandparents are the luckiest people on the Reservation. You can learn a lot of things... more things from grandparents than even from parents."

(e) "When there was an important thing for Elders to talk about, they would say, 'go out and play now. When you get older you will have enough things to worry about. Now you should just play.' But now kids are around when older people talk, and they get involved and worried too."

"They used to teach, 'If you want to argue, wait until the children are gone. Otherwise they will have fear in their hearts.' I think it is a matter of trust."

"My mother used to stop us when we got too involved in things. She would say, 'Slow down, you will grow old soon enough. Sooner than you think'."

Comment: Part of the message in these lessons is summed up in Rubie Sooktis' Cheyenne Journey (7):

> No matter how long or short a Cheyenne's life may be, he travels this journey. He is a traveller through life. His life here on earth is like a flash of light. Because of the swiftness of moving along the journey, the individual Cheyenne attempts to prolong a happy moment of his existence by giving himself fully to that one happy moment.

We have reviewed Northern Cheyenne teachings regarding practical skills, personal values, the relationship between young and old, and the flow of time. All of these concerns are reflected in the teaching of Northern Cheyenne social values. The center of social values is the Tribe, the community of living Northern Cheyennes, and concern for the continuity of this community into the past and into the future.

(f). "Competition is not our way of life. People were closer to one another in the old days. The way to live is to help one another. Help each other to survive. Competition is not the value of the Cheyenne people. 'Keeping up with the Joneses,' getting a new fence, a new car, that is not the way of the Cheyenne people. I always tell the little ones: do the best you can. Always do your best and feel good about what you've done. I try to be friendly with everybody, not get the best of them. I try to implement the values I've learned from my Elders and my parents. These values have helped me. They've worked" (5).

(g). "My parents always taught us not to hate anybody. They taught me not to be jealous, even if someone is better than me. Anybody that walks into that door, they're always welcome. Like my grandmother says, even if you don't have food, then give them water. She always said, 'when you give someone something, you give

more than you've got.' My mother said, 'you are giving away something far more important than just the material thing.' She meant trust and friendship."

"One example, like this table, this cup. It will be gone someday. The only thing that stays is what you have learned, because you can always pass it on. She'd say, 'People mean more than material things.'"

Comment: It must be emphasized that these statements about social values, and the other teachings as well, barely scratch the surface. Many social values are taught in the home by example, and in religious and social ceremonies. The pow wow, the giveaway, all teach social values. There is a special ceremony, usually conducted at a pow wow, at which time a young child is formally given his or her Indian name, and is honored and introduced to the Tribe and to the dance floor by a giveaway ceremony put on by parents and relatives. This ceremony teaches social values.

There are many ways of teaching, of passing Northern Cheyenne values, understandings, and traditions down from one generation to another. Instruction is done primarily in the home, but also importantly in other tribal groups and special social events. There are no specific institutions or times set aside for education in the tribal way--perhaps the nearest thing to a "school" is when an Elder recounts stories, legends, and tribal history to a group of

youngsters. Nevertheless, conscious instruction of the young by their Elders is an important and ongoing effort by both.

As we saw in the statements quoted above, everything that happens in daily life provides opportunities for instruction. For the alert Cheyenne Elder, the simplest things of daily life yield many opportunities for the most profound teachings. This is perhaps the most important lesson of all.

(h). "Our home should be our main center, where we teach that [referring to respect]. Where we missed the mark is where a man and a wife both [are] working at jobs. Today children come home and they find their mother and father both gone. Especially in their teens there is nothing for them to come home to if their parents are not there."

(i) There is not enough time for kids today. Yet everything is so easy today. Back then we washed on washboards. We had to go out and cut wood and build a fire just to heat water. Now we have washing machines and everything. But everything is moving so fast we don't even have time for our own kids."

(j) "I talked about this [teaching our young the Cheyenne Way] with Martin Round Stone, one of our Elders. He said, 'because of white man's knowledge.... It got to our young generation and they

don't listen to the Elder's teaching any more. Ever since Cheyenne children beginning to have bottles and nipples and cow's milk, that's when our younger generation turned and began to walk its own way. You can almost tell someone raised on a bottle. When you talk to them they just look at you and chew gum and look the other way. You can just see that cow chewin' cud. When breast-fed babies grow up they are strong and mindful and walk with fear'."

Many people feel that there is indeed a gap in cultural transmission (mentioned in the last two statements above) that probably started sometime in the late 1940's or the 1950's, so that the generation of people who are now in their teens or early 20's, or younger, are most affected by it. It is hard to know what might cause such a gap; there are probably many causes. Around the 1920's was a period of intense cultural repression by church and government. The Sundance and Peyote ceremonies were officially banned. In some schools children were whipped or otherwise punished for speaking Cheyenne on the school grounds. Governmental policy was directed toward assimiliation and traditional Indian ways were discouraged and repressed. The attitudes that were instilled in the children of this period may have affected them when they in turn had children who were growing up in the 1940's and 1950's.

Another cause may have been the increase in employment that came with the war years. As was noted in statement "h" above, traditional

values cannot be taught so well in a home when the parents are out working all day. The war may also have caused a sudden influx of non-Indian influence with returning veterans. Another serious problem is alcohol. Alcohol, where it is a disruptive influence, probably interferes with the proper traditional education of some children.

Another cause of the education gap is probably two related things working together. One is simply the speed of change -- many people speak of this. It is probably hard for non-Indians to imagine what it must be like to experience so many new things introduced so rapidly, and with no regard for cultural context.

(k) "In the early days of the reservation, Cheyennes were taught different things. It seemed like every time they'd get a new man in the BIA they'd try out something new -- farming, ranching, sheep raising even. That didn't work at all.

"Some became successful at farming, especially younger men. Some older ones couldn't change. I remember my grandfather when he went from living in tipis to log houses. My grandfather had the most cattle on the reservation at one time.

"All the things of the change never were explained to people. They were given vegetables, but didn't know how to use them. They cooked watermelon, and ate squash raw. They couldn't figure out what to do with dried beans.

"One family bought a wagon, and they never told them about the brakes. They were coming back from Birney to Lame Deer. When they got over the top of the hill, that wagon started rollin, and it piled up against a tree. Broke it up. My grandfather bought a wagon and went up in the hills to cut timber for house logs. He never thought that cutting it green and piling it up, the horses couldn't pull it. Then they had to unload most of those logs. Sometimes it wasn't so funny. Not too long ago when they brought in propane stoves instead of wood, people got blown up and burned because there they were with propane in their house, but they didn't know how to use it."

The other related thing that makes it difficult to pass traditional Cheyenne knowledge to the young generations is that for various reasons many of the Elders and more traditional Northern Cheyennes have little to do with the Tribal government, which in its current form was established in 1936 under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The current form, with its elected council representing the different reservation districts, Tribal Chairman, and programs took the place of the traditional council of 44 Chiefs and the Military Societies.

The fast pace of change and the lack of participation of the Elders in government both represent the same thing. On the cultural level they express that the new ways are not fitting in easily with

the old ways; on the personal level they represent a gap in the lines of communication between the Elders as bearers of traditional wisdom on the one hand, and tribal decision-makers or some more highly educated (in white schools) young people on the other.

It is clear that similar problems are faced by the entire nation, and probably by people throughout the world, but they are probably more severe here than in many places because cultural differences are involved. We do not want to just pass over these problems of the fast pace of change, of jobs, or the young people--problems that many Northern Cheyenne people express concern about. However, it is clear from what people say and do that much of the traditional wisdom of the Northern Cheyenne, and many of the traditional ways of teaching, are just as important and relevant today as ever, and maybe even more so. They are based in universal practical and spiritual truths that are needed in all times and all places.

(1) "I can still remember the teachings of my great-grandfather--what he taught my grandfather, my father, and myself, as young as I was. Later I grew up, learned how to read and write, I learned the Bible, the Word of God. And there were those same teachings. It was through prophets that we got our teachings. God spoke to us in one way--a way that was right for us. He spoke to the white man in another way, that could be written down."

(m) "A lot not having left (the reservation) don't appreciate what they have. A Cheyenne Elder knows language, stories, religion--more knowledge than any professor anywhere" (6).

The problem is not with this knowledge. The problem lies in the circumstances that have disrupted the lines of communication by which it can be passed down to younger generations, and by which it can be applied to current problems.

Because this is a general problem throughout the country, and is expressed in such concepts as the "generation gap," "future shock," and so on, any solutions developed here could be important to people everywhere. One of the great strengths of this Tribe lies in its spiritual foundations, in the Cheyenne Circle of Life and in the teachings that are the birthright of every Northern Cheyenne. Many people are beginning to express a renewed appreciation of this birthright.

(n) "Just in this time is a confusion that has hit the Cheyenne people. Some man will have to stand up and speak with authority. We still have that genuine Cheyenne way. We have to start using it. Our people fought for this land. It cost them plenty, lives, suffering, blood. People still want to keep this land. It's going to take working together and speaking the same thing, seeing the same thing."

(o) "Today our generation that's coming up--they're falling back on our traditional ways and their beliefs. It seems like the last few years I've seen the Sun Dance really coming up. For a while there they were kind of forgetting it."

(p) "We are realizing how much of our Cheyenne ways and our Cheyenne culture we are losing . . . Now we are beginning to realize where we are. It seems like the Cheyennes are going to fully awaken. We are coming back into tribal government--following everything up step by step.

"Let us go back, let's search it. Let's go back and find out where we left off. It will build some hope up to our older people."

D. NORTHERN CHEYENNE SOCIAL VALUES

1. Introduction

In general, governmental policies in the education, political, and economic spheres have ignored and continue to ignore tribal social values. In the old days, there was a great deal of fit or harmony between Northern Cheyenne society and other spheres or dimensions of community life such as economy and politics. Cheyenne society and social values have remained strong; however, for reasons which are explained more fully in Chapter V, these other areas like economics and politics were more vulnerable to forced change imposed by the incoming whites. Today that basic harmony of life

has many gaps in it, due to a lack of fit between, for example, white economic values and Cheyenne social values, or between white political values and Cheyenne social values.

(q) "The old traditional law revolved around four spiritual virtures: love, faith, hope, and charity. But today, it doesn't all fit together so good as it did in the old days. Say the parents are arrested, and the police take the children to a shelter. When the grandparents hear about it, the police will be in hot water. The grandparents will say, 'look at us, we're still alive. Why didn't you bring the children over to us.' "

As the Tribe increasingly regains control of its own political destiny, and its own resources and the management of its economy, one of its greatest challenges will be to reshape tribal institutions in these areas to a greater harmony with Cheyenne social values. Northern Cheyenne tribal society has been the core that remained as some other aspects of the Cheyenne way of life were stripped away or lost. Now it can become the core around which a modern and more complete tribal society can be built. The best way to insure the continuation and growth of the Northern Cheyenne way of life is for the Tribe to make sure that tribal society and social values, including traditional ways of teaching and learning, are considered and respected in all policy and development decisions.

2. The Time Dimension

Because the Tribe itself is a social community in which knowledge and traditions are passed down from one generation to another, it is almost a permanent entity compared to the lives of the individuals who make it up at any one time. Its history extends indefinitely into the past and its future extends indefinitely into the future. The outlook and concerns of tribal members embrace a much larger span of time than whites are more often concerned with.

This concern is embodied in concern for the Elders and the children of the Tribe, and in the link between them that ties the Tribe's past into its future.

(r) "The Elders carry us back. Without them there would be nothing. Clean air and rain are important to us now because they were important for the Old People. We know this through the Elders who are alive today."

Therefore, planning for the short term--five, ten, or even twenty years is not enough by itself. Development plans for the reservation must look to all the future generations of the Tribe that will be living on this land.

3. Some Important Social Values

a. Respect and Trust

"Respect is very important in a close community. It has two sides. One is how a Cheyenne gains people's respect, and the other is your obligations as a Cheyenne to respect others. They are related even for the individual, because to gain respect you must give it.

"The foundation for both aspects of respect are laid by your parents and grandparents. My mother's side comes pretty much from Dull Knife himself, and my father is from the American Horse family. My father's father is from Oklahoma, and my father's mother is an American Horse. But the important thing is how you were raised--how well you were taught the Cheyenne way to live, how well your house was clean, how you were taught to respect others, and so on.

"You already have this foundation of respect from your parents and your grandparents, and from how you were raised. But then individually it is all up to you. One thing is that you have an obligation to pass this respect on to your own children. But it is up to you. If you become a drunk, people will say, "Why is she doing that, she wasn't raised that way?" But you would lose their respect. Or if you get mixed up with the wrong crowd of people or the wrong issues--like if you sell out the Tribe in some way--you will lose that respect. That is where trust comes in, too. Also, if you gossip you will lose people's trust and respect. That is something our mother always strongly stressed: that we don't talk about anybody unless they are going to get in trouble or something, but not to gossip about the deep personal things. That is one

thing she stressed, but there are others. She stressed not to lie, not to steal, and not to gossip. So you're kind of aware of that teaching whenever you're talking to anybody.

Another way to lose respect is if a member of your family does something wrong. Murder is one of the worst things for a Cheyenne, because as Cheyennes we are taught to respect human life, especially the life of the Tribe and of tribal members. So if a member of a family kills someone, then the whole family loses respect. People won't eat with them, and can't drink from the same cups. If they borrow a cigarette, you have to give them the whole pack since you can't take any back. The family will not reject the murderer, but the whole family suffers from it. Sometimes the relatives of a murderer change their name, or a talkative person becomes real quiet for the rest of their life. That is how bad it is. It affects the Sacred Arrows, and that means that the Sun Dance will not be good until after the next Arrow Renewal ceremony. It affects women; women have more miscarriages. Wildlife and game stay away. It affects everything."

b. Generosity

One of the most difficult things for many white people to understand is the tribal value of generostiy or selfless concern as everyday principles. Everyone can relate to these values in the abstract. But it is often foreign to whites to apply them in

specific down-to-earth problems, whereas it is second nature for tribal members to do so. The difference is that in a permanent close-knit community these values are practical and serve the long term good of the individual and the community, whereas in the impersonal competitive environment of the city they are usually neither practical nor rational.

This is a very important point in many ways. Programs or development plans made for the reservation that emphasize gain or competition, especially individual gain, often do more harm than good if they do succeed, and they often fail because they go against the grains of this most basic principle of community life.

This problem comes up in many ways. For example, it was illustrated one day in a meeting between some Tribal Council members and two outside consultants. The meeting was to discuss plans to develop an important tribal resource for on-reservation use. The Council members explained that their concern for the time-being was to provide the resource to tribal members more conveniently and at a much lower cost than it was presently available. However, the consultants seemed able to view the situation only in terms of its potential for significant profits, and soon were planning a much larger export operation. This might have been more profitable, but it would have created additional problems as well that the Tribe was not ready for. And it ignored the basic social value that was the reason the meeting was called in the first place. Finally,

the Northern Cheyennes walked out, and left the two consultants talking to themselves.

The "giveaway" is one important social expression of the value of generosity within the Tribe. The giveaway is usually made at a pow wow. A tribal member will make the giveaway in honor of someone, or of someone's memory, but usually the whole family, including distant relatives, contribute. As Hubert Bearchum explained it to the audience while announcing for a pow wow, "The Indian way of being honored is to give away instead of to receive." Here is how the giveaway works.

(s) "The Cheyennes are great believers in throwing money away. This does not apply outside the reservation, or mean that people can just take advantage of us. But within the reservation, within the Tribe, it is a great value.

"One day we put on a giveaway for my brother when he came back from the service. One thing we did is throw out quarters for the children. They thought we were only throwing out nickels and dimes. They really had a ball.

"My family never could have done it all, but our relatives pitched in and helped. I never knew we had so many relatives. People I didn't even know were related came and helped us with that giveaway. My mother gave away all my shawls. She said, 'It is for your brother, isn't it?' "

Giveaways are often made to children and Elders. They draw families together, and they also express concern for the well being of the entire Tribe as an ongoing social community.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

(1) Ziontz, Pirtle, Morisset and Ernstoff, Attorneys, Petition of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Tribe to Rogers C.B. Morton, Secretary of the Interior, Concerning Coal Leases and Permits on Their Reservation. Vol. I: Petition and Legal Analysis. Submitted January 7, 1974.

(2) Alonzo Spang, "Northern Cheyenne Future," in Wilson F. Clark (ed.), Proceedings of the Fort Union Coal Symposium, Vol. 1 (Billings, Montana: Montana Academy of Sciences, April 25-26, 1975), pp. 35-40.

(3) Pete Mondale, "The Burden of Freedom," a Talk Delivered at the Energy Bind Conference, Billings, Montana, April 3 and 4, 1977, Sponsored by the Institute of the Rockies. Printed in The Energy Bind Primer, Nancy Leifer and John Badgley (eds.), (Missoula, Montana: Institute of the Rockies, 1977).

(4) John Stands In Timber and Margot Liberty, Cheyenne Memories (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

(5) Rubie Sooktis, Cheyenne Journey (Ashland, Montana: Religion Research Center, 1976).

(6) Northern Cheyenne Research Project, The Northern Cheyenne Air Quality Redesignation Report and Request (Lame Deer, Montana, 1977), Vol. I, pp. 4-40 to 4-41.

(7) Sooktis, op.cit., p. 1

(8) Northern Cheyenne Research Project, op.cit., p. 5-28.

(9) Ibid., p. 5-43.

CHAPTER IV

NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS' EVALUATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, AND ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS

by Jean Nordstrom

A. THE PRESENT DAY CONTEXT

Throughout their history, the Northern Cheyennes have faced and overcome forces that threatened their survival as a people and a Tribe. They expect to continue as a people and as a Tribe for many years to come. There is more than physical continuation involved; Northern Cheyenne survival has a cultural, a social, and an economic dimension. It is important to understand these dimensions when looking at economic development, because some kinds of development would maintain or strengthen the Tribe's social fabric, while others would weaken or destroy it.

1. Northern Cheyenne Attitudes Towards Preservation of Their Culture

The 1975 Household Survey asked tribal members which of the traditional Cheyenne ways of life are most important to be passed on (1). This is a difficult question, since all aspects

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of Cheyenne culture are closely tied together and cannot easily be separated from one another. In fact, the answers to the survey question reflect this interrelatedness (see Table IV-1). The Northern Cheyenne language, the most frequently mentioned aspect of the culture to be preserved, is the medium for passing on all other aspects of the culture. Northern Cheyenne religious ceremonies and religious knowledge, second most frequently mentioned, are practiced and taught in the native language, and in turn are the spiritual foundation of the culture. The third and fourth most frequent answers together refer to nothing less than the entire culture, all the traditions, behaviors, and values that are distinctively Northern Cheyenne. Respect for the elders of the Tribe and their teachings was often a specifically mentioned value which people thought should be maintained and passed on. Other values that were specifically mentioned are in accordance with the teachings of the elders: generosity and sharing, wisdom, honesty and integrity, strong family bonds, tribal unity, and tribal control over Northern Cheyenne people and land.

In looking at economic development, it is important to realize that not all kinds of development are consistent with the maintenance of Cheyenne culture and values. Development which is controlled by outside interests, rather than by Northern Cheyennes, is not likely to be structured and guided by a concern

TABLE IV-1

MOST IMPORTANT TRADITIONAL CHEYENNE WAYS OF LIFE TO PRESERVE, AS SEEN BY NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Cultural Category	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=330)[b]	
	%	No.
Language	73.6%	(243)
Religion	53.3	(176)
Culture, Old Ways as a Whole	40.0	(132)
Values	23.3	(77)
Art	16.1	(53)
Powwows	13.9	(45)
Other	27.9	(92)

[a] The data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. People were asked to list the traditional Cheyenne ways of life or values which they think are most important and should be preserved. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] The question was asked of 348 people, of whom 330 responded with up to three answers. The total number of answers was 819.

The percentages are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

for Cheyenne culture. Outsiders do not know or understand the culture, nor can they ever hope to understand it as well as Cheyennes themselves do. Efficiency and profit-orientation characterize outside development interests; while, as this chapter will make clear, Cheyennes think first about the present and future welfare of their people, Tribe, culture, natural resources, and homeland.

2. Tribal Members' Evaluation of Existing Community Social Problems

It is important to know what social problems now exist to evaluate how different kinds of economic development might help solve those problems or make them worse. By far the number one concern is alcoholism (see Table IV-2). Over 90% of all people interviewed mentioned alcoholism as one of the three greatest community social problems on the reservation today, and nearly 75% listed it first as their most important concern.

Inadequacy of community social services, a composite category, is the second most frequently mentioned problem facing people on the reservation today. The lack of recreational facilities and inadequacies in the educational systems on the reservation are all the more severe problems when viewed in the context of the needs of the young, who form over half the reservation population. The adult half of the population faces

TABLE IV-2

GREATEST COMMMUNITY SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS SEEN BY NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Social Problem	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=334)[b]	
	%	No.
Alcohol, Drug Use	110.5%	369
Alcoholism	(91.0)	(304)
Drug Use	(19.5)	(65)
Inadequate Community Social Services	44.0	147
Recreation	(12.9)	(43)
Education	(10.8)	(36)
Law and Order	(10.5)	(35)
Housing	(4.2)	(14)
Health and Medical	(3.6)	(12)
Community Services	(2.1)	(7)
Unemployment-Related Problems	26.9	90
Unemployment	(23.4)	(78)
Poverty	(3.6)	(12)
Crime	24.9	83
Juvenile Delinquency	(14.7)	(49)
Crime	(10.2)	(34)
Lack of Communication Among People	23.1	77
Family Problems	13.8	46
Other	19.8	66
Prejudice	(3.6)	(12)
Demoralization	(3.0)	(10)
Other	(13.2)	(44)

[a] The data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. People were asked to list and rank what they think are the three greatest community problems on the reservation. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] The question was asked of 348 people, of whom 334 responded with up to three answers. The total number of answers was 878. Percentages are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

unemployment, as well, and experiences the scarcity, the instability and the low wages of jobs on the reservation as one of the three greatest social problems facing Northern Cheyennes today. (Unemployment ranks second if each social problem on Table IV-2 is treated separately and ordered by the number of responses it received. Unemployment ranks third if the composite social services category is kept intact.)

Community social problems like alcoholism, unemployment, and inadequate community services are made more difficult because they so directly reinforce each other. Despair over unemployment (the rate is over 40% on the reservation) contributes to alcoholism, as does alcoholism to the inability of some people to hold a job once they find one. Excessive drinking as a social activity is encouraged by the simple lack of alternative recreational and social activities, especially for youth. Alcoholism, drug use, unemployment and poverty, and insufficient recreational activities in turn all place heavy pressures on Cheyenne family life.

The fourth most commonly mentioned social problems, crime and juvenile delinquency, are also clearly and closely related to the community problems discussed above. Tribal police report most reservation crime is committed by people who have been drinking, and poverty and unemployment are undoubtedly related to property crimes. Juvenile delinquency is tied not

only to drinking, drug use, and unemployment, but also to the lack of recreational activities and to family problems at home.

The fifth most frequently mentioned area of concern is communication. With increased population and the existence of distinct reservation communities, difficulties arise in getting accurate news and information out to people and in getting feedback from the people as a whole on issues important to the Tribe. Lack of communication and miscommunication are also found between different age, kin, and other interest groups.

The social and community problems listed in Table IV-2 are not unique to the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The Tribe is, however, trying to find unique solutions to these problems, solutions that are given foundation by its culture and values and by the expectations that its people have for themselves and for the future generations of the Tribe.

Most of the problems just discussed affect large numbers of Cheyennes, either directly or indirectly. It is clear, then, that any economic development which might alleviate those problems will have to be similarly broad in its beneficial impact. Even if the total extra income to the reservation were the same in each case, economic development which brought in a small number of very high paying jobs might intensify the

underlying social factors giving rise to the existing problems, while the creation of a large number of moderately paying but stable jobs would probably greatly reduce these problems.

Many community social problems, in addition, reflect or even partly result from an underlying sense of one's powerlessness to control one's own life. Economic development which would help meet this situation would have to be that which is controlled by Cheyenne people themselves-- something they can make happen on their own terms and at their own pace, and not something they experience as happening to them.

3. Alternative Possibilities for Economic Development

Economic development on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation must be evaluated with respect to the effect it would have on Cheyenne culture and values and on existing reservation social problems. Cheyenne people themselves already have a good idea what kinds of economic development would be appropriate to their needs and style of life.

Suggestions that Cheyennes make for possible future development put retail stores, particularly grocery and clothing stores, at the top of the list (see Table IV-3). Just over 60% of all people interviewed mentioned stores as one of the three most important businesses the Tribe could get into that would improve the general economy of the reservation, and nearly

TABLE IV-3

TRIBAL BUSINESS VENTURES SUGGESTED BY NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Type of Business	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=306)[b]	
	%	No.
Stores	60.8%	186
Recreation/Theater	38.9	119
Sawmill/Timber	33.0	101
Agriculture	27.5	84
Cattle	(17.3)	(53)
Farming/Irrigation	(10.1)	(31)
Coal Mine[c]	22.5	69
Construction	12.7	39
Tourism	11.8	36
Motel/Cafe	8.2	25
Gas Station	7.5	23
Other	34.0	104
Job Training	(5.6)	(17)
Factories	(4.6)	(14)
Laundromat	(4.6)	(14)
Bank	(3.6)	(11)
Other	(15.7)	(48)

[a] The data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. People were asked to list and rank what they think are the three most important businesses the Tribe could get into to improve the general economy of the reservation. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] The question was asked of 348 people, of whom 306 responded with up to three answers. The total number of answers was 786.

Percentages are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

[c] When people listed "coal mine," it was frequently qualified to read "small coal mine," "for local use," and "tribal coal mine" (i.e., tribally controlled and operated).

30% of all people interviewed listed stores as the single most important business. Presently, Cheyennes usually shop for groceries in stores in their local reservation communities or in Ashland, although the large general store in Lame Deer attracts business from the smaller surrounding communities as well (see Table IV-4). With the exception of Busby, however, non-Indians own, operate, and largely staff all these stores. The 1975 Household Survey showed strong support among Cheyennes for establishing a tribally owned and operated grocery store to offer competitive goods and prices, to employ tribal members, and to recycle the income that is spent locally back to the Tribe.

For other consumer goods, such as clothing and furniture, tribal members shop predominantly outside the reservation, especially in Billings (see Table IV-4). Many Cheyennes are aware that in such transactions income flows off the reservation and supports jobs and businesses there that are badly needed at home.

The same holds true for money spent outside the reservation on recreation, which is the second most frequently mentioned possibility for tribal business investment. Recreation was also one of the specifically mentioned social needs, and this suggests that development of reservation recreational resources for tribal members could be a combined economic and

TABLE IV-4

SHOPPING PATTERNS OF NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Location	Usually Buy Groceries (N=219)[b]		Prefer to Buy Clothing (N=197)[b]		Prefer to Buy Furniture (N=169)[b]	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Lame Deer	55.7%	(122)	17.8%	(35)	11.2%	(19)
Ashland	18.7	(41)	4.1	(8)	2.4	(4)
Busby	9.6	(21)	0.5	(1)	0.0	(0)
Birney	3.2	(7)	0.5	(1)	0.0	(0)
Hardin	5.5	(12)	16.2	(32)	11.8	(20)
Billings	5.5	(12)	51.3	(101)	60.4	(102)
Other[c]	1.8	(4)	9.6	(19)	14.2	(24)
TOTALS	100.0%	(219)	100.0%	(197)	100.0%	(169)

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. Detailed information on shopping patterns is available from the Northern Cheyenne Research Project.

[b] Numbers in parentheses are the actual numbers of people giving answers to the questions. All three questions were asked of 222 persons.

[c] Category includes Sheridan, Miles City, and Forsyth.

social service to the Tribe.

Timber and agricultural development, third- and fourth-ranked among the suggested tribal business ventures, would utilize renewable resources on the reservation. These development possibilities are also mutually compatible and need not compete with each other or with stores or recreation businesses for land, water, or labor.

Coal mining is the fifth most frequently mentioned possibility for economic development. It is important to note that when a coal mine was listed as one suggested tribal business, people often stipulated that the size of the mine be small, that the coal be for local domestic use, and/or that the mine be entirely under the control and operation of the Tribe.

Why coal development ranks fifth and not first, when for sheer dollar value there might seem to be more potential for developing coal than any other reservation resource, needs to be examined further. The next section looks in more detail at tribal members' attitudes toward coal development and why for many the drawbacks of coal development outweigh the advantages. It might first be briefly noted, however, that retail, recreational, and timber and agricultural resource development each have one or more of the following features which help explain their attractiveness to tribal members:

a) they would provide a number of jobs (be labor-intensive

rather than capital-intensive);

b) they would meet a community need or help solve a social problem (one would have work which would serve the people as well as provide a living);

c) they would be compatible with traditional Cheyenne lifestyles;

d) they would not necessarily deplete Cheyenne resources;

e) they would be on a small enough scale to ensure the possibility of local ownership and control; and

f) they would be tribal rather than individual businesses, so that the people as a whole would benefit rather than just a few (traditional Cheyenne values honor those who are generous, who sacrifice, who share with the people, rather than those who seem to become rich or prosper at the people's expense).

(These ideas will be expanded on in Section C below.)

B. TRIBAL MEMBERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS COAL DEVELOPMENT: WHY IT IS A LESS ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVE THAN OTHER FORMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Tribal Members' Perceptions of the Good or Bad Effects and the Social and Economic Changes Likely Brought By Coal Development

Most Cheyennes believe their way of life will change if coal mining for commercial export or for a mine-mouth generating

plant occurs on or near the reservation. The question was put to 348 people on the 1975 Household Survey: 71.8% (249 of the 347 people who answered) thought either their personal lives or the Cheyenne way of life as a whole would change, 5.2% (18) thought their way of life would not change, and 23.1% (80) were unsure what would happen. The survey also asked what good changes and best effects would result from coal development and what would be the bad changes and worst effects.

Many more people thought of bad changes and bad effects which would result from coal development than thought of good changes and good effects:

Question on Coal Development	No. of People Answering the Question	No. of Answers
Good Changes (Table IV-5)	117*	234
Bad Changes (Table IV-7)	250	603
Best Effects (Table IV-6)	264**	746
Worst Effects (Table IV-8)	342	1121

*An additional 104 people interviewed said there would be no good changes.

**An additional 71 people interviewed said there would be no best effects.

While a sizeable number of people thought that no good changes and no good effects would result from coal development,

no one thought that there would be no bad changes or bad effects (every one answering the survey thought of at least one negative result of coal development).

a. Good Changes and Best Effects of Coal Development (Tables IV-5 and IV-6)

The positive expectations for coal development are overwhelmingly economic: more and better-paying jobs for Cheyennes, more on-reservation and tribally-run businesses, an improved financial condition for individual Cheyenne people and the Tribe as a whole, and an improved standard of living (see Table IV-5). People also expect that improvement in community social services will result. Two-thirds (66.8%) of the good changes recorded in Table IV-5 related to economic improvement and 18.8% relate to improved services, particularly educational ones.

Similar expectations and figures are recorded in Table IV-6, which lists what people think would be the best effects of coal development. Again, increased job opportunities for Cheyennes heads the list and was the shared expectation of over three-fourths of the people interviewed. As one older Cheyenne man put it: "The general economy will be good for all--work for the young and able Cheyennes, and money in our pockets to be able to buy our needs."

TABLE IV-5

WHAT GOOD CHANGES IN THE CHEYENNE WAY OF LIFE WILL COME FROM ON-RESERVATION COAL MINING OR POWER PLANT DEVELOPMENT? : NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESPONSES[a]

Type of Change Mentioned[b]	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=117)[c]	
	%	No.
A Better Economy (More Jobs, Businesses)	69.2%	(81)
More Money Will Come In	44.4	(52)
Improved Standard of Living	23.9	(28)
Improved Educational and Other Facilities	19.7	(23)
Improved Services	17.9	(21)
Increased Exposure and Adjustment to Outside (White) Ways	9.4	(11)
Increased Tribal Control Over Reservation	6.8	(8)
Meet Local Need for Coal	5.1	(6)
Miscellaneous	3.4	(4)

NOTE: In answer to this question, 104 people spontaneously said there would be no good changes from coal development.

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] Categories have been recombined from the original answers.

[c] Each person interviewed could list up to five answers. A total of 234 answers, or good changes, were given by 117 people. An additional 104 people said there would be no good changes. The question was asked of 346 people.

Percentages are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

TABLE IV-6

BEST EFFECTS OF ON-RESERVATION COAL MINING AND POWER PLANT DEVELOPMENT AS SEEN BY NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Effect Mentioned	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=264)			
	1st Best Effect[b]		All Answers[c]	
	%	No.	%	No.
Increased Job Opportunities for Cheyennes	50.8%	(134)	77.7%	(205)
Improved Education and Educational Facilities	6.8	(18)	37.9	(100)
Improved Shopping/Professional Services	11.4	(30)	33.7	(89)
More Industry/Businesses On the Reservation	5.9	(15)	32.2	(85)
Increased Tribal Revenues (Royalties to the Tribe)	2.7	(7)	26.9	(71)
Improved Quality of Housing	8.0	(21)	20.1	(53)
Improved Recreational Facilities	4.9	(13)	17.8	(47)
More Money/An Increased Standard of Living[d]	6.4	(17)	12.5	(33)
Opportunity to Meet New People	0.0	(0)	6.1	(16)
Improved Medical Facilities[d]	1.1	(3)	3.8	(10)
Improved Living Conditions[d]	0.4	(1)	3.0	(8)
Public Works Improvements[d]	0.8	(2)	1.9	(5)
Acquisition of Job Skills and Training[d]	0.0	(0)	1.5	(4)
Other	1.1	(3)	7.6	(20)
TOTAL[e]	100.3%	(264)		

NOTE: In answer to this question, 71 people spontaneously said there would be no best effects resulting from coal development.

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The choices were listed on the questionnaire.

[b] Each person interviewed could choose up to five answers and was instructed to rank these best effects: "first best effect" is the answer listed first by each person interviewed. There were 264 first best effects given by 264 people. An additional 71 people said there would be no best effects. The question was asked of 348 people.

[c] The 264 people interviewed listed a total of 746 best effects.

[d] This effect was not one of the choices listed on the questionnaire, but was volunteered by the people interviewed.

[e] Total does not equal 100.0% because of rounding. Percentages for all answers are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

Men tend to be more optimistic about the benefits than women, who more frequently said that no good changes would come from coal development and that there would be no best effects. Possibly men are more optimistic because they expect to be the ones who will more directly benefit from the kinds of male-oriented jobs associated with coal development. Women are more cautious and concerned about potential social harm coming from coal development. One middle-aged woman voiced a skepticism shared by other people interviewed that expectations of increased job opportunities for Cheyennes may be more a hope than reality: "There will be more jobs, but I suppose more whites would get them, not our own people."

b. Negative Results of On-Reservation Coal Development

1) Bad Changes and Worst Effects of Coal Development (Tables IV-7 and IV-8)

People's greatest worries about coal development are that it will increase social and community problems, that it will damage the environment, and that it will shatter the Cheyenne way of life by bringing too many outsiders onto the reservation.

First and foremost, people expect the bad changes to include an increase in social problems, especially violent crimes, alcohol and drug use, and alienation of Cheyenne young people

from their culture and their families (see Table IV-7). The following quotes sum up the thinking of almost 70% of the people interviewed:

> From what I heard, there may be more jobs, but Cheyennes will be outnumbered in every way. There will also be more alcoholism and drugs, and an increase in crime and overpopulation of non-Indians. Our young people will forget our Indian ways. (Man, age 34)
>
> There will be total destruction of Cheyenne ways and culture, more social problems (crime, juvenile delinquency, etc.) and subserviency to dominant whites on the reservation. (Man, age 39)

These quotes illustrate people's concern that coal development will only intensify the major social problems already faced by reservation communities. Alcoholism and drug use were ranked first, and juvenile delinquency and crime were ranked fourth on Table IV-2 as the existing social problems of greatest concern to people today. On the other hand, people's positive expectations for coal development also connect to existing community problems. The two main benefits people hoped will result are improvement of reservation economic conditions, particularly more jobs for Cheyennes, and improvement of reservation community services. These expected benefits focus on the second- and third-ranked social problems of concern to people-- the inadequacy of community services and the high unemployment rate on the reservation.

TABLE IV-7

WHAT BAD CHANGES IN THE CHEYENNE WAY OF LIFE WILL COME FROM ON-RESERVATION COAL MINING AND POWER PLANT DEVELOPMENT: NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESPONSES[a]

Type of Change Mentioned[b]	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=250)[c]	
	%	No.
Increased Social Problems	69.2%	(173)
Environmental Damage and Loss of Resources	42.4	(106)
Crowding and Overpopulation	38.4	(96)
Loss of Tradition and the Cheyenne Way of Life	30.0	(75)
Social Conflict	14.4	(36)
Benefits Won't Last or Aren't Worth It	13.6	(34)
Increasing Intermarriage with Non-Cheyennes	10.8	(27)
Everything Would Come Out Bad, Maybe Lose the Reservation	8.4	(21)
Lose Control Over Reservation & Life Here	8.0	(20)
Adverse Health Effects	1.6	(4)
Miscellaneous	4.4	(11)

NOTE: No person said there would be no bad changes from development.

[a] The data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] Categories have been recombined from original answers.

[c] Each person could give up to five answers; 603 answers, or bad changes, were given by 250 people. The question was asked of 348 people.

Percentages are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

It is clear from what people say that any economic development which the Tribe might choose to undertake, whether involving coal or another reservation resource, must be carefully evaluated for the actual effects this development will have on existing community problems. Such development will be in line with people's hopes for themselves, the Tribe, and future generations of Cheyennes only if it measurably reduces existing problems and does not measurably increase these problems or create new ones.

It is interesting to note that, in general, women are more concerned than men about the potentially damaging social effects of coal development. Perhaps women acutely realize the current impact which existing social problems have on the men and children of their families. They may fear that development will only aggravate these problems if the expected benefits of development do not materialize, are used unwisely, or do not last.

Environmental damage stands out among the other bad changes people expect would result from coal development. People think about what pollution would do to a small reservation which has some of the cleanest air and water and the least disturbed land in the United States. They worry what would happen to the water systems and range grasses upon which present and anticipated ranching operations depend and to the forests which are the basis of any future timber development. Table IV-3 showed

that timber and agricultural resource developments rank above coal in people's suggestions for possible tribal business ventures. Any deterioration of reservation lands, water, or forests caused by coal development would diminish the already limited resource base upon which these more preferred economic developments would depend.

Cheyenne people also express a deep concern that their culture and current, preferred way of life will not survive the social strain imposed by coal development. Presently, non-Cheyennes form 22.3% of the reservation population (a little over half of these are whites, and the rest are Indians of other tribes). Cheyenne people believe it will be difficult to maintain and pass on their culture and values in an atmosphere no longer dominated and perhaps no longer controlled by Cheyennes, if the number of outsiders substantially increases with coal development.

> We would become involved in white man's ways and gradually lose our values. We'd become a minority and be dependent on the whites. (Man, age 76)
>
> The Cheyenne people will lose everything-- culture, language, everything-- because everybody will go in different directions. (Man, age 23)
>
> There will be intermarriages and a loss of Cheyenne heritage. We stand to lose our heritage, land, and other freedoms we have now. (Man, age 75)
>
> With more whites coming in, the Cheyenne way of life will soon be forgotten. There will be nothing but half breeds and Indians thinking white, walking around. (Woman, age 22)

There will be a great influence on the young people against our culture. (Man, age 34)

The bad changes which people expect will happen with coal development are paralleled by what they expect the worst effects will be (see Table IV-8). Almost two-thirds of all people who answered the survey question listed an increase in crime, especially violent crimes, as one of the worst possible effects of coal development. Over 40% expressed concern that friendships, family ties, and cultural values would be weakened or destroyed. Over 40% also included pollution among the worst effects.

It is clear from a consideration of what tribal members see as the "bad" and "worst" effects of possible coal-related on-reservation development that a central objection to such development has to do with the direct and indirect effects of large numbers of additional non-Indians moving to the reservation. Underlying the concern about an increase in crime and other social problems, a breakdown in Cheyenne values and traditions, overcrowding, or loss of control over the reservation is often a perception that it is the coming of many additional whites which will cause such problems. The reservation lies just south of one coal-oriented "boom-town," Colstrip, and Cheyennes look to this as an example of how a small rural community can be overwhelmed by thousands of extra people coming to it for jobs in a few short years.

TABLE IV-8

WORST EFFECTS OF ON-RESERVATION COAL MINING AND POWER PLANT DEVELOPMENT AS SEEN BY NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS[a]

Effect Mentioned	Percent and Number of People Giving Each Answer (N=342)			
	1st Worst Effect[b]		All Answers[c]	
	%	No.	%	No.
Increase in Crime	32.7%	(112)	65.5%	(224)
Breakdown of Friendships, Family and Cultural Values, Changes in Values	12.3	(42)	42.7	(146)
Increase in Air, Water, and Land Pollution	9.1	(31)	41.8	(143)
Loss of Land and Water to Industrial Development	7.3	(25)	34.5	(118)
Non-Cheyenne Population Increase, Too Many Non-Indians	11.1	(38)	28.7	(98)
Overcrowding and Shortage of Housing	2.6	(9)	22.5	(77)
Increase in Cheyenne/Non-Indian Intermarriages	7.6	(26)	21.6	(74)
Increased Use of Alcohol and Drugs[d]	8.2	(28)	19.0	(65)
Overcrowding and Loss of Control In Our Schools	3.2	(11)	16.1	(55)
All Possible Things That Are Bad Would Happen (All of the Above)[d]	0.9	(3)	16.1	(55)
Other	5.0	(17)	19.3	(66)
TOTAL[e]	100.0%	(342)		

NOTE: No people said there would be no worst effects resulting from coal development.

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The choices were listed on the questionnaire.

[b] Each person interviewed could choose up to five answers and was instructed to rank these worst effects: "First worst effect" is the answer listed first by each person interviewed. There were 342 "first worst effects" given by 342 people. The question was asked of 348 people.

[c] The 342 people interviewed listed a total of 1121 worst effects.

[d] This effect was not one of the choices listed on the questionnaire but was volunteered by the people interviewed.

[e] Percentages for all answers are not totaled because people could give more than one answer, resulting in a total which would be considerably larger than 100.0%.

The social problems ordinary boomtowns experience are bad enough, but Cheyennes carry over a hundred years of negative experience with the very people who might come to the reservation for jobs. For the reservation itself to become a boomtown, then, would be a double blow. Cheyennes often regard the reservation not only as a homeland, but as a sanctuary as well, where they can have some measure of freedom and control over their own lives. The continuing discrimination Cheyennes experience in nearby white-dominated border towns reaffirms their belief that only where they are in the majority can their lives be led in relative dignity.

The 1975 Household Survey inquired about tribal members' opinions concerning an increase in the non-Cheyenne population on or near the reservation due to coal development. Of the 334 people who answered, 88.6% thought a non-Cheyenne increase would be bad, 8.7% thought it would be good, and 2.7% thought it would be both good and bad. Table IV-9 confirms that Cheyennes overwhelmingly believe any large increase in whites on the reservation is undesirable. 91.5% of the responses made in answer to the question about increased whites were critical of such an increase, while only 8.5% were positive about such an increase or neutral at best. With respect to a question concerning the present number of whites on the reservation, 33.6% of tribal members already believe there are too many, while 44.3% believe the current number is acceptable but that

TABLE IV-9

NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS' PERCEPTION OF THE EFFECTS OF AN INCREASE IN NON-CHEYENNE POPULATION ON THE RESERVATION DUE TO COAL-RELATED DEVELOPMENT[a]

	Answers (N=390)[b]		% of Total
Bad Effects	%	No.	
Cheyennes Will Be Pushed Out, Overcrowding	29.7%	(106)	
Whites Will Bring Crime and White Ways and Values	21.0	(75)	
Increased Indian-White Conflict, Discrimination and Prejudice Against Indians	15.1	(54)	
Loss of Control Over the Reservation	12.6	(45)	
Intermarriage with Non-Cheyennes	7.6	(27)	
Whites Are Just Bad	6.2	(22)	
Loss of Tradition	5.6	(20)	
Miscellaneous Bad Effects	2.2	(8)	
SUBTOTAL	100.0%	(357)	91.5%
Good Effects			
Will Increase Indian-White Understanding	45.5%	(15)	
Necessary Evil to Get Better Jobs	45.5	(15)	
Will Bring No Change Anyway	6.1	(2)	
Other Tribes Will Come Here	3.0	(1)	
SUBTOTAL[c]	100.1%	(33)	8.5%
TOTAL		(390)	100.0%

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] A person could give more than one answer; the tally was made from the first two answers listed. The question was administered to 348 people of whom 316 gave a total of 390 answers.

[c] Subtotal does not equal 100.0% because of rounding.

there should be no more (see Table IV-10).

The theme running through the negative responses, stated in various ways but over and over again, is a belief and a fear that if large numbers of whites come they will take over the reservation. Cheyennes will be "pushed out" and lose control over the reservation and their own lives. Most of the whites will not understand Indian ways and values, and many will not respect them. Indians will be discriminated against; they will become a minority on their own land, strangers in the last and best possible home they will likely ever have. In the words of the Cheyenne people themselves:

> I don't believe I would feel as free as before. (Man, age 52)
>
> We'd become a minority in our own country. (Man, age 64)
>
> Cheyennes wouldn't be free to run their own reservation. (Man, age 61)
>
> We would be strangers on our reservation. Indians would be left out of everything. (Woman, age not given)
>
> It will be as the Prophet predicted: our people will surely diminish and become no more. (Woman, age 87)

Cheyenne people put social, cultural, and environmental concerns first when they evaluate the meaning coal development will have for themselves and the Tribe as a whole. Cheyennes know that they are the thread of continuity between past and future generations. They, like their ancestors before them, have the

TABLE IV-10

OPINIONS ABOUT THE NUMBER OF NON-INDIANS LIVING ON THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION[a]

Opinion Category	People Who Answered the Question(N=336)[b]	
	%	No.
Too Many Non-Indians Here Now	33.6%	(113)
Present Number of Non-Indians O.K., But Shouldn't Be Any More	44.3	(149)
Doesn't Matter How Many Non-Indians Live Here	18.2	(61)
Other	3.9	(13)
TOTAL	100.0%	(336)

[a] This question was asked on the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The choices were listed on the questionnaire.

[b] Numbers in parentheses are the actual numbers of people giving each answer. The question was asked of 348 people, of whom a total of 336 answered.

responsibility of preserving the welfare of the Tribe and its land and resources for their children. They do not take this responsibility lightly. No one else has acted or will act so wholeheartedly or steadfastly in the Cheyennes' best interest as they themselves.

2) Land Disturbance and Pollution

Cheyennes are deeply concerned that the natural environment of their reservation be protected and preserved. This concern emerged strongly in answer to the survey questions on the "bad" and "worst" effects of coal development. Two other questions asked specifically about tribal members' willingness to allow reservation land disturbance or air and water pollution as a result of coal development. People replied to both of these questions in a single voice: "No."

In answer to the question on land disturbance, 80% of tribal members (273 out of 342) said they would be unwilling to see the land on the reservation disturbed or disrupted for coal mining (see Table IV-11 for their reasons). A small percentage of people (10.5%) said they would be willing to see reservation land dug up only if strict reclamation standards are met. An equally small percentage of people (9.6%) said they would be willing to see the land dug up, adding either that some type of reclamation should take place or that land disturbance is a necessary evil

TABLE IV-11

DO YOU FEEL WE SHOULD DISRUPT AND DISTURB THE LAND AS WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR ON-RESERVATION COAL MINING?: NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS' RESPONSES[a]

Response and Reasons[b]	Answers (N=377)[c]		% of Total
NO	%	No.	%
Impossible, Or Will Take Too Long, To Restore the Land to Its Original State	24.9%	(73)	
Like the Land the Way It Is	21.2	(62)	
Would Reduce the Beauty of the Land	13.3	(39)	
Would Disrupt Plants and Animals	9.6	(28)	
The Land Is a Sacred Trust	8.2	(24)	
This Is Our Homeland	8.2	(24)	
Disturb Agricultural, Timber Land	5.1	(15)	
Destructive to Whole Environment	4.1	(12)	
Reservation Is Too Samll As It Is, Not Enough Land to Go Around	1.7	(5)	
Reduce Quality and Availability of Water	0.7	(2)	
Miscellaneous No	3.1	(9)	
SUBTOTAL[d]	100.1%	(293)	77.7%
YES			
There Must Be Strict Reclamation, However	57.1%	(48)	
It's A Necessary Evil for Development	35.7	(30)	
There's No Way to Stop It Anyway	6.0	(5)	
Miscellaneous Yes	1.2	(1)	
SUBTOTAL	100.0%	(84)	22.3%
TOTAL		(377)	100.0%

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] Categories are recombinations of the original answers for simplicity.

[c] Each person could give more than one reason for their answer; the tally was made from the first two reasons given. The question was asked of 348 people, of whom 342 answered the yes or no part of the question. Of these, 314 gave a total of 377 reasons for their yes or no answer.

[d] Subtotal does not equal 100.0% because of rounding.

connected with mining and the economic benefits it might bring.

The many people who said they are against disrupting or disturbing the land emphasized that reservation land could never be brought back to its original beauty and productivity. They are unwilling to take a chance on a long-term reclamation process whose success cannot be unconditionally guaranteed. The Cheyennes who were interviewed said they like their land just the way it is. They want the beauty of the land to remain unspoiled. They want to pass the land, intact and as it is, to their children.

> You will never be able to get the land to look the same as it was before. (Woman, age 20)
>
> You can never replace the land surface. Reclamation does not occur within 50 years. Even so, it would never be the same. (Woman, age not given)
>
> This is the way the land was given to us, and this is the way we should give it to our children. (Man, age 28)
>
> I've lived here all my life, and I like it just the way it is. (Woman, age 24)
>
> Original beauty and memories shouldn't be destroyed. (Woman, age not given)

People also have a concern that disturbance of the land will adversely affect other resources which are closely tied to the land, such as wild and domestic plants and animals and reservation water systems. Cheyenne people do not want any of the present or future uses of the land put in jeopardy. Ranching, farming,

hunting, and gathering of wild plants, as well as any timber development, all depend on careful management of resources, including the Tribe's land base.

There is one other important reason behind people's opposition to disturbing the reservation lands. Cheyenne people hold their land dear and attach values to it that cannot be measured. It is their homeland, won at great sacrifice; it is the burial place of their dead; it has at once a physical, spiritual, and symbolic meaning which gives strength to the Tribe.

> My feelings for my land are very strong. I hate to see it wasted. This is the only place we can call home. (Man, age not given)
>
> The land is sacred to us. Besides, that is all we have left in this United States to call our own home. (Man, age 34)
>
> Our land has a meaning to an Indian, and it takes on an identity as a person. (Man, age 32)
>
> Our people are of the earth, and we consider it to be sacred. My body will soon go back to the earth, and would you tear up your mother's body? (Woman, age 75)
>
> Our ancestors went through hell to return here. Why should we destroy our land and ourselves? Is money all that matters now? Other people should be so lucky. (Man, age 28)

People are just as certain that they do not want air and water pollution as they are that they don't want their land disturbed. In answer to the 1975 survey, 93% (321 out of 345

people) said they are unwilling to have air or water pollution on the reservation as a result of coal mining or power plant development (see Table IV-12 for their reasons).

Cheyenne people think the reservation is good as it is and do not want polluted air to diminish its beauty. They value their health; they know they already experience high rates of certain respiratory diseases and do not want air pollution to diminish their already precarious health. They value the trees, plants, wildlife and other aspects of the natural environment and do not want polluted air or water to diminish its quality and abundance. The following quote sums up most people's thinking:

> The reservation is one of the most beautiful places in Montana. Let's keep it that way for our children. Pollution also creates health problems that we can not afford. We've always had clear air, good water. Our land is very good. Why ruin it now? (Woman, age 33)

Economic development which does not offer protection to the land, air, water, plants, and animals of the reservation will not fit the desires of tribal members any more than development which aggravates existing social problems or creates new ones, endangers the culture, or brings more non-Cheyennes into the area.

TABLE IV-12

ARE YOU WILLING TO HAVE THE AIR AND WATER POLLUTION ASSOCIATED WITH COAL MINING, POWER PLANTS AND CONVERSION PLANTS ON THE RESERVATION?: NORTHERN CHEYENNE TRIBAL MEMBERS' RESPONSES[a]

Response and Reasons[b]	Answers (N=417)[c]		% of Total
NO	%	No.	%
The Reservation Is Good As It Is	35.8%	(139)	
Harmful to Health	21.1	(82)	
Destructive to Plants and Animals	17.3	(67)	
Will Harm the Environment	11.1	(43)	
Have Seen Bad Effects Elsewhere	4.6	(18)	
The Land Is a Sacred Trust	4.1	(16)	
Would Reduce the Beauty Here	3.4	(13)	
This Is Our Homeland	1.3	(5)	
We Couldn't Control the Pollution	1.0	(4)	
Miscellaneous No	0.3	(1)	
SUBTOTAL	100.0%	(388)	93.0%
YES			
There's No Way to Stop It Anyway	37.9%	(11)	
It's a Necessary Evil for Development	24.1	(7)	
Wouldn't Be That Much Pollution	20.7	(6)	
Could Be Controlled	13.8	(4)	
Miscellaneous Yes	3.4	(1)	
SUBTOTAL[d]	99.9%	(29)	7.0
TOTAL		(417)	100.0%

[a] Data were gathered by the 1975 Northern Cheyenne Household Survey. The question was open-ended; no answers were suggested on the questionnaire or by the interviewers.

[b] Categories are recombined from the original answers for simplicity.

[c] A person could give more than one answer; the tally was made from the first two answers listed. The question was asked of 348 people of whom 320 gave a total of 417 answers.

[d] Subtotal does not equal 100.0% because of rounding.

2. The Need for More Information Before Decisions Are Made

Though the people who answered the 1975 Household Survey seem to have pretty strong opinions about coal development, this should not be taken to mean that Cheyennes do not want more information on the subject. In fact, in response to a question on the survey asking whether tribal members would like more information about coal development, 315 people, or 92%, said yes.

Furthermore, people want more information about economic development in general. Nearly everyone says there is a critical need for more jobs on the reservation. But most people don't really know how those jobs can be created in a way consistent with Northern Cheyenne lifestyles and values, or how to make sure that any new jobs that are created are for the good of the Tribe and are compatible with Tribal goals. Therefore, basic information about economic development alternatives, as those alternatives relate specifically to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, is still very much in need.

C. SOME IMPLICATIONS OF CHEYENNE VALUES AND ATTITUDES FOR RESERVATION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Northern Cheyennes have faced a basic dilemma for many years. On the one hand, ever since their original economy was

destroyed by white people, they have been poor. Instead of hunting or growing their own food and building their own housing as they once did, they have been forced to rely on making money to earn a living. But there have never been enough jobs on the reservation to go around for everyone who needs and wants them. Agriculture and tribal and federal programs do not supply enough jobs in the first place, and usually non-Cheyennes have the best of the jobs which do exist. As a result, nearly half the Cheyennes who would like work cannot find it. The economy which has taken the place of the Cheyenne traditional economy has not met the needs of the people as well as the old buffalo economy. People are poor economically even if rich in spirit and culture, and they want jobs. Some kind of development seems necessary.

Yet, on the other hand, people know that many kinds of development would probably destroy Cheyenne traditions, use up Cheyenne resources, and perhaps take control over their lives and reservation away from the Cheyenne people and give it to white outsiders. Most Cheyennes do not want this. The dilemma becomes this: must the people give up their culture and sovereignty if they want jobs? Is poverty and unemployment the price Cheyennes must pay to keep control over their lives?

The hope people have is that jobs can somehow be created while at the same time strengthening Cheyenne culture and

self-determination. People want development, but they want development which is consistent with their values and which realizes their hopes for themselves as a people. It is the purpose of this section to review and summarize, based on material presented up to this point, what kinds of development would help rather than hurt the Cheyenne way of life. No attempt will be made to judge any particular development project. What is offered here are general guidelines for evaluating development as to whether it is consistent with Cheyenne values and desires. It is unlikely that any development option would meet all the guidelines below, and it is up to the Tribe to decide when the costs of a project would outweigh its benefits.

The list of guidelines follows below. Each suggestion is followed by a brief explanation.

1) Any development on the reservation should be under the control and at the discretion of the Tribe itself. This is the best way, and probably the only way, to make sure that any development is compatible with Cheyenne culture and welfare. It alone ensures that the people here will have some power and control to shape development in some of the ways suggested in the more specific guidelines below. And, as has been mentioned, because a sense of personal powerlessness underlies many community social problems, self-determination over economic development and tribal resources will help overcome that powerlessness

as Cheyenne people become able to create new ways of making a living for themselves.

2) More specifically, any major development here on the reservation should be tribal rather than private. Or, if the business is private, it should benefit a lot of people rather than be oriented to making a lot of money for just a few people. This would be especially so the larger the business is (it would be unimportant for individual small businesses). If a business is tribal, or at least involves the cooperation of a broad group of tribal members, then tribal members will have a say or an input into it and how it is run. If there is a surplus (profit) to be distributed, then many tribal members will benefit, not only those who actually work for the business.

The idea of having tribal businesses which would benefit the Tribe as a whole is based on Cheyenne values. Cheyennes have traditionally valued and honored people who worked for the Tribe, who sacrificed for others, and who shared and were generous. It is inconsistent with Cheyenne values for a person to advance him or herself at the expense of others, or to accumulate wealth and power unless those resources are in turn used in service to the people. People are to cooperate with one another, not compete, and to work for the common good, not for selfish ends.

The larger white economy tends to operate on very different values. It is assumed that people will compete with one another, and white economic theory usually assumes that people are selfish. White society rewards those who do accumulate vast resources, and success is measured in terms of individual achievement and wealth ("how much is he worth?"). It is clear, then, that the kind of economic development whites might find appropriate for themselves would usually not be compatible with Cheyenne values. Whites might like private development for the benefit of the few, but Cheyennes value public or tribal efforts which can benefit all.

3) Any development should be the kind which would employ primarily Cheyennes. Only if Cheyennes get most of the jobs created can Cheyennes benefit from development. Also, most Cheyennes do not want any substantial increase in the number of non-Cheyennes living on the reservation. Only if Cheynnes remain a clear majority on the reservation can they remain in control of their reservation and their lives, and only then can their culture continue to survive.

4) Any development should cause no serious or permanent harm to Cheyenne resources, such as the land, air, and water. Cheyennes intend to stay here as a people forever, and consider thse natural resources as important to the long-term well-being of the Tribe.

5) Any development should cause no pollution significant enough to harm the health of the people or the beauty of the reservation.

6) Any development should help keep money earned on the reservation from going off the reservation. If there were tribal retail stores, repair shops, cafes, and recreational facilities it would be less necessary for people to spend their money on goods and services in white-owned businesses off the reservation, and a number of jobs for tribal members would be created.

7) Any development should create work that offers an opportunity for contact with and service to other reservation residents. People want, prefer, and enjoy those jobs which involve service to the Tribe and to their own communities. It is partly for this reason that it is more accurate to say that Cheyennes are as interested in community development as in economic development.

8) Jobs created by development should be consistent with Cheyenne lifestyles and kinship obligations. Currently Cheyennes who work for whites can get fired if they place obligations to relatives and friends above showing up for work. If Cheyennes control development, they may be able to design jobs to take into account the fact that work and making money is not the most important value Indians have. Family emergencies,

funerals, helping friends, religious ceremonies, and powwows should be accommodated by the work routines set up.

In the previous chapter on Cheyenne culture, it became clear how much the perpetuation of the language and culture depends on children learning them from their parents and grandparents. This is difficult if both parents work 8-hour days. Perhaps new kinds of work schedules could be created to make it more possible for parents to be home more with their children, or perhaps new kinds of jobs could be developed which could be done at least part of the time at home.

9) In general, development should use a lot of labor rather than a lot of machines. Machines cost money, which the Tribe may not have, and the social need here is for jobs, not just some net increase in the total output or wealth of the reservation economy. Capital-intensive development usually means fewer but higher-paying jobs; labor-intensive development usually means more but lower-paying jobs. Here on the reservation there is such a need for jobs that it is probably more important to have many adequately-paying and stable jobs than to have a limited number of elite positions created. It would only increase social tensions and wound people's sense of justice, as well, to create a few high paid jobs and make the distribution of income even more unequal than it already is.

10) Any development should be human-scale. It should not

be so large as to require either large amounts of capital or a bureaucratic organization to run it. A project which requires more money than the Tribe has means the Tribe might have to let some richer and more powerful outside corporations carry out the project. A project which becomes bureaucratic and impersonal will be one in which many traditional Cheyennes probably would not feel at home. A project should be small enough so the Tribe can exercise effective control over it, and so tribal members feel good about working in it.

11) Development would have the most favorable social impact on reservation communities if it could be spread out among the communities, and not concentrated in just one. In recent years most of the new reservation jobs have been created in Lame Deer. As a result, many people from other communities like Birney have moved to Lame Deer. People complain that Lame Deer has grown too fast and too big, so that people don't know each other well and community spirit is missing. Birney, Busby, Muddy, and Ashland should each get some jobs in any new community development so that people who grow up there can live and work there if they wish. Because the well-being of the Tribe depends on each community remaining strong and healthy, economic development should be planned to help strengthen each community.

12) Any development should take into account the many skills tribal members now have but which are not being used. Also,

development should be encouraged which provides a broad range of new skills so that the Tribe can increase its independence by doing more and more things for itself.

It must be emphasized here that the above twelve guidelines are only an attempt to say what kind of development is compatible with Cheyenne culture, Cheyenne attitudes, and Cheyenne control over their own destiny. They are an answer to the question, "If the Tribe could have any kind of development it wanted, what would that development probably be like?" However, no judgment has been made so far whether development in the above terms is "practical," or economically feasible. (It should also be kept in mind that conventional economists are used to thinking in terms of white assumptions and values and what they regard as economically "feasible" may or may not meet the desires and the needs of an Indian tribe determined to shape its own destiny.) The guidelines represent what the Tribe might <u>like</u> to do, not what may be possible. A thirteenth guideline, which takes into account considerations raised in the first twelve, discusses briefly this problem of what is feasible and realistic.

13) Development should probably be oriented more at the reservation's "inner economy" than towards marketing reservation resources or manufacturing goods for export to the competitive off-reservation market. If reservation business is small, it

may not be competitive with giant corporations off the reservation producing the same thing. If it is large, or part of some off-reservation corporation's operations, the Tribe may lose control over it, and over whether it is good or bad for the Tribe. It is risky to depend on exporting any one resource like beef or timber anyway, since market prices change quickly and a reservation economy dependent on any one resource could find itself in trouble.

Reservation businesses are unlikely to be able to compete with off-reservation business for more reasons than simply that reservation businesses are likely to be smaller and therefore not have the advantages of "economies of scale" which larger businesses would have. A second reason is that off-reservation businesses are likely to be more ruthless, less humane, and therefore more economically efficient than tribal businesses would be. Cheyenne culture teaches that people should be treated with respect (a key Cheyenne value); if some of the above guidelines are followed about building work routines around the needs of people, rather than to get the most work out of them in the least time for the least pay, then most likely those tribal businesses are not going to be as efficient as if people were treated like machines. The white economy is based on values of competition, selfishness, materialism, and individual achievement which are fundamentally at odds with the more humane Cheyenne

values of cooperation, generosity, spiritual needs, and the group's welfare. It is to be expected that if Cheyennes wish to compete successfully with white business, they may find it necessary to adopt white economic values; likewise, if Cheyennes wish to earn their livings in a way compatible with Cheyenne values, they probably will not be as efficient as white businessmen or be able to compete with them.

A third reason Cheyenne business might not be competitive with off-reservation business is that off-reservation businesses often cut costs and increase their efficiency by damaging the environment and pushing environmental and health costs of their production off onto the general public. For example, to make more money, white businesses often resist installing anti-pollution equipment, or they clear-cut forests without regard to long-term sustained-yield production, or they use chemicals which speed up the production process but which harm or even eventually kill their employees. Cheyennes would not want to do this. Probably, then, white businessmen could produce a product more cheaply than Cheyennes could, since Cheyenne values would not allow the Tribe to make greater profits at the expense of the land, air, water, or people.

For several reasons, then, Cheyennes may be able to maintain their culture better by seeking to build up their reservation economy itself rather than by depending heavily on selling

resources to whites off the reservation or competing with whites. Participation in the white economy always seems to mean some compromise with Cheyenne values. Cheyennes, therefore, will be more free to live their lives as they wish to the extent they are able to create a relatively independent economy here on the reservation itself-- you don't have to worry about doing what other people tell you to do if you aren't working for them.

What would it mean for Cheyennes to have a healthy and independent economy of their own? First, it would mean that much economic activity would be directed towards providing for the needs of tribal members. Irrigated farms and ranching would help provide people's food needs. Modern log housing might be built using tribal timber. A small coal mine might supply heat for homes and buildings. In buffalo days, Cheyennes provided for all their own needs; the Tribe will have to learn how to provide for at least some of its needs today, in a creative and modern way, if Cheyennes are to recreate some of the economic independence which will really allow them to realize their cultural values and their hopes of well-being for themselves and their children.

It is unlikely and perhaps undesirable that Cheyennes would become totally economically self-contained. Some marketing of timber and beef would help provide money to buy those goods it

would not be practical to make here on the reservation.

Also, it is expected that a major source of jobs and money income would continue to be federal grants and programs. It is only just, and should be a matter of treaty right, that the government help "subsidize" an independent reservation economy so that people here will not be forced to participate in the surrounding white economy in ways likely to keep Cheyennes poor and culturally compromised, since it is the government which originally destroyed the Cheyennes' ability to care for themselves and purposely reduced them to dependency. Federal monies would continue to provide support for a variety of tribal programs, including the social service and educational programs whose spirit is so close to the underlying Cheyenne ethic of service to the people. (Of course, it would be important to try to change the kind of federal money which comes into the Tribe now. Because the Tribe has a <u>right</u> to certain federal support, in return for past injustices, that support should be both at a high and stable level, and come with no strings attached. Too often today federal money is given grudgingly, in too-small amounts, and with conditions attached that make the Tribe dependent rather than independent.)

Three components of a more independent reservation economy have been discussed: a sector providing some basic needs like housing, heat, and food; a cash-generating sector involving the

sale of some tribal resources off the reservation; and a tribal service program sector supported mainly by government funds. A fourth component would be a sector made up of tribal retail stores, service shops, and recreational facilities. These would help keep wages earned in other sectors circulating on the reservation, as well as providing more jobs.

There would be other economic activities or sources of income: craft work, hunting, unemployment and social security payments. And perhaps it would take a number or years for the reservation to become relatively self-sufficient. In the earlier years it might be necessary to have a greater involvement with white private enterprise, for example.

How "realistic" is it that the Tribe would be able to achieve enough control over its economic life to serve as a foundation for self-determination in other areas as well? This is not for an outsider to judge. The Cheyenne people have always been able to do more than might have been realistically expected. If the Northern Cheyenne people had listened to reason rather than their hearts a century ago, they would still be in Oklahoma, and there would be no Northern Cheyenne reservation. Today, Northern Cheyennes retain their integrity as a Tribe and they retain their homeland, and the example set by their grandparents continues to inspire them.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

(1) The Northern Cheyenne Research Project conducted a survey on and adjacent to the reservation during 1975. The intent of the survey was to collect basic population, social, attitudinal, and economic data for the Tribe.

The survey was based on a 50% random sample of all Northern Cheyenne households on the reservation and in the adjacent Ashland area. The total number of households actually interviewed was 243, or 40% of all Northern Cheyenne households. Of the 243 households interviewed, 174 or 72% were from the sample list; and 69 or 28% were not from the sample list. The sample and non-sample groups have been compared, and while there may have been a slight bias toward younger employed persons, the survey is reliable and representative of the Northern Cheyenne population as a whole (those members living on and adjacent to the reservation).

The survey's attitudinal questions, the results of which are presented in this chapter, were asked of 348 persons within the 243 households. These persons were household heads and spouses; occasionally, adult offspring or other relatives were also interviewed.

CHAPTER V

THEORY

by James P. Boggs

A. INTRODUCTION

Every analysis, every study, no matter how practically-oriented it may seem to be, rests on certain fundamental ideas or assumptions about how the world operates. These fundamental ideas are called theories or theoretical assumptions. A theory in science is not a guess or a hypothesis about something. It makes no sense to call an unproven idea "only a theory" to contrast it with "hard fact." Instead, a scientific theory is an underlying idea that ties different facts together and makes sense of them. It may even tell the researcher what to count as a "fact" in the first place.

It is true that good theories are based on fact; but it is also true that facts are often only as good, or at least as useful, as the theories that back them up. Therefore, it is only fair to the reader to identify the theory that a particular analysis or presentation of facts is based on. This is particularly important when the analysis may be used for making policy decisions.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the theoretical approach that lies behind many of the facts and analyses presented in this report, and to explain why this theoretical approach is better for our purposes than some other existing ways to interpret the

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data.

To help make these points clear, I will also point out some ways that certain popular ideas about the nature of human society fail to measure up to scientific standards--how they are theoretically inadequate. An important point underlying my reasoning here is that if these ideas are wrong in theory they are wrong in practice. They can serve the goals of social impact assessment no better than they can serve the goals of pure science.

The popularity of these ideas, both in science and in the way the "man-on-the-street" thinks about human society, probably stems in part from their usefulness during a time when Anglo-American culture was spreading across the continent, and in part from their simplicity. However, times change. Also, human social life is incredibly complex, and probably the worst thing we could do would be to continue to try to understand it by relying on simple-minded ideas.

B. TWO THEORIES OF CULTURAL INTERACTION

1. Defining the Two Theories

Basically, I will be talking about theories that attempt to explain what happens when different societies and cultures interact. These theories may be divided into two main groups. The ideas in each group share certain basic understandings of what is going on,

and these shared understandings are what I am calling the theory.

The first of these theories is called "acculturation theory." This theory assumes that each culture is separate from every other and is made up of isolated traits. When two cultures come together the traits of one or both cultures change until the two cultures have become alike, or have become one culture. Usually the traits of the native or technologically simpler culture are expected to become like the traits of the incoming, technologically advanced, and usually urban-based culture.

The other theory does not have a widely accepted name in social science, but I will call it the "differentiation (meaning growth of differences) theory" of social and economic expansion. As its name implies, the differentiation theory is more concerned with how interacting socio-economic groups become or remain different from one another than it is with how they become more alike.

Acculturation theory has played a very important role in social science theory in the United States, and has been the basis for many popular notions that govern public policy and people's everyday behavior. Such popular notions as the "melting pot," and the one so beloved by bureaucrats that everyone should "enter the mainstream" (whatever that is) of American life are based on acculturation theory.

These and related ideas are common in the schools, in the media, in political speeches, and they are sufficiently common in

the public mind that they have influenced everyone's thinking, and have even influenced the way that many Indians and other minorities view their situation. However, empirical data do not support the acculturation theory. For these reasons I will criticize the scientific basis for the acculturation theory and present differentiation theory as a better and more accurate theory.

2. Acculturation Theory

In its simple and naive form this theory assumed that the expansion of industrialized society around the world would eventually bring all the different peoples it contacted up to "the same level" as itself. This "level" was usually defined in terms of vague middle-class norms of culture, values, and economic well-being. When social scientists tried to make this theory more objective, they did so essentially by dividing up each separate society or culture into isolated cultural traits, and then comparing these traits to get an "objective" measure of how different or alike the two societies were, or of how much one society had become like the other. Acculturation theory became more objective and sophisticated with time, but has remained essentially the same up to the present.

The major empirical problem with acculturation theory is that there are many areas that have been a part of industrialized society for perhaps hundreds of years, and yet have remained underdeveloped economically and have retained much of their native or rural

ways of life. In other words, the expected acculturation has not taken place. Another problem is that the theory is too simple. It assumes that when two cultures meet, the trend toward sameness will occur in all spheres of life at once: economic, political, material culture, social values, and even religion. This also has not occurred.

As we have seen, there is often no real theory of how the different parts or aspects of culture interact in acculturation theory -- at one time they are treated as if they were isolated, and at another as if they were totally interdependent. It is clear that acculturation theory does not recognize the true complexity of social life, because in this theory it is simply the contact situation between peoples with different levels of technological development that is supposed to cause people with simpler technologies to become more like people with advanced technologies.

3. Differentiation Theory

Differentiation theory is at this point in time made up of a number of different ideas. To my knowledge these ideas have not yet been integrated into a theoretical framework. It is part of the purpose of this chapter to provide a framework for bringing the ideas together.

Perhaps the most important way in which the seemingly diverse ideas about social differentiation are alike is that they all look

at the expansion of industrial society, or at the contact between different social/cultural groups that industrial expansion causes, as taking place within a single system. Differentiation theory as defined here has as its basic model a developmental system that naturally divides into central metropolitan or manufacturing sectors, and outlying, peripheral, satellite, or natural resource sectors.

A system is defined as a unit made up of different parts that interact with each other. Systems that are alive, or are made up of living things, always seem to grow and become more complex--this happens with individuals, and it seems to happen with social and economic systems also. So people who work with social differentiation theory tend to focus on how social/cultural differences are generated or maintained within growing socio-economic systems, rather than on how economic systems expand and cause social and cultural differences outside themselves to disappear.

For those who are interested I will give some examples of specific recent theories that fall under the differentiation point of view. The books and articles referred to in the next paragraph are listed in the footnotes at the end of this chapter.

Barth (1) has recognized that different peoples often live close together and interact for generations without either group becoming like the other. It has also been recognized, as we saw in Chapter I above, that differentiation into rural outlying areas

and urban centers tends to follow a strict hierarchically organized geographical pattern, especially where the process has developed over a long time, as has happened in rural China (2). A related understanding is that the urban centers, with their accumulations of wealth and manufacturing capital, actually expand by taking raw materials from rural areas, processing or using them in manufacturing, and then selling some of the finished products back to rural areas (3) (4). This process was also described recently by E. F. Schumacher in Helena, Montana (5). A fourth point, and one that is very important here, is that whatever geographical patterns are involved, the interests of the large multinational, industrially based, or "corporate" economy may conflict with the interests of the local social and cultural systems it encompasses (6).

4. Basic Points of Difference Between the Two Theories

The two theories just described represent quite different ways of looking at what happens when metropolitan centers extend their influence over outlying areas and cultures. In the acculturation theory, the urban society and the rural or native society are seen as two separate systems, with the contact between them causing the native society to become more like the urban one. In this view poor, "economically stagnant," or rural areas are believed to be separate from or not yet integrated into "the system."

In contrast, social differentiation theory sees such areas as

fully integrated into and occupying a well-defined niche in a total system. Metropolitan centers and their rural hinterlands are viewed in differentiation theory as different parts of the same system. Instead of becoming more alike, the parts of the system may naturally become more different as the system becomes larger and more complex.

C. CONCLUSION

The differentiation theory is better for our purposes because it can explain why parts of Montana have remained a tradition-oriented, rural area with local values and ways of life that are quite different from those in urban centers. It can explain the persistence of the societies and cultures of Native Americans in this area, even though they have been a part of the economy of this area for almost a century. In fact, the discussions in Chapter I developing a regional perspective were based on differentiation theory, in part because it would not have been possible to talk about the things we did talk about there in terms of an acculturation theoretical framework. Acculturation theory is empirically weak as a theory because it assumes what does not happen and cannot explain what does happen.

Differentiation theory is also better than acculturation scientifically because it is a broader and more integrated theory-- it looks at social interaction as a system. For this reason, what is true in acculturation theory will soon be integrated into

differentiation theory. While the acculturation idea does not explain things very well by itself, it may work better as part of a broader theory than can, so to speak, set it in its place.

Finally, acculturation provides a false scientific justification for negative and regressive social policies. Many governmental policies down through the years have been purposely designed to cause the disappearance of Native American cultures and societies. Some of these, like forbidding native language or religious practices (both of which were done in the early days of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation), or termination of the reservations, were pretty blunt statements of their intent. Others, like perhaps relocation and other "helping" programs, were more subtle. Many programs had good intentions-- they simply did not take the well-being of native traditions and cultures into account. Acculturation theory can be used to justify this repression and lack of concern.

For these reasons we are pointing out that the popular notions, like the "melting pot" and "joining the mainstream," are related to a narrow scientific theory that by itself fails the two scientific tests of 1) empirical accuracy (does it explain what actually happens), and 2) theoretical value (basically, does it make the best sense out of the most facts with the simplest or broadest explanation). Unfortunately, nothing is simple in human social life, so simple theories like the acculturation theory often go against the facts. Therefore, social scientists and effective administrators

must often base their studies and decisions on theories that are broad and comprehensive instead of merely simple, and that is the case here.

We have just looked at some reasons for getting away from the common notion that when two different cultures meet, one or both will change until they are alike. Instead we suggest a theory that looks at interactions between cultures in terms of systems, and that recognizes that differentiation and growing complexity are just as important as diffusion and increasing uniformity in such situations.

It was mentioned above that an important element of the acculturation theory often was the too simple notion that all the different aspects or parts of a culture are so closely interrelated or tied up with each other, that when one changes they will all change-- in other words, that all the different aspects of culture change together. There is perhaps a very limited sort of truth to this notion, but demonstrable independence between key aspects of community life is also an important thing to look into.

Maybe the best way to start is with an analogy. We know that, taken in its broadest sense, human social life has different aspects to it. There is an economic aspect that is defined technically as the way that goods and services are distributed. There is a political aspect that has to do with the way that power and authority are established and maintained. There is a social (in a more specific sense) aspect that is how people form families and groups and

relate to each other. There are many other aspects to human life: religious, emotional, spiritual, cultural, and so on. It is impossible to understand the full complexity of human life, but we know that it has many different aspects or dimensions to it. We know enough to respect human life in all its complexity as something that is beyond our grasp. We should know enough to stay away from any simple-minded assumptions about how all the different aspects are related to each other.

Let us use a lump of clay as our analogy, and say that human life is like a lump of clay. A lump of clay also has different aspects, like shape, color, weight, size, and so on, only these are much simpler than the aspects of human community life, and that is the advantage of the analogy. These aspects of the lump of clay can never be "things" by themselves. For example, it is impossible to have a "shape" that is not an aspect of some <u>thing</u> (in this case a lump of clay) that also has other aspects, like weight and color. In the same way it is impossible to have "an economy" or "a political system" by itself. These are always aspects of a real human community, a society or culture that has many other aspects as well.

Now there are two opposite mistakes that we often make in thinking about the aspects of human life that we would never make in thinking about the aspects of a lump of clay. The first mistake is to consider an aspect of a human community as if it were a thing all by itself. For example, it is very common to talk about "an

economy" or "a political system" as a "thing" that can be separated from all the other aspects of human life. This is the first mistake, and is one that is often made in social impact reports, and in policy decisions.

The second and opposite mistake is to assume that all the different aspects of human life are so closely related to each other that when one changes they all change. Let us go back to the lump of clay. It is possible to roll it into a tube, or flatten it out, or model a human face-- in fact, to change its shape in any way-- without changing its other aspects such as its weight or its color. The aspects of human life are somewhat the same way. However, the analogy does break down here somewhat because we cannot say that the aspects of a human society are so independent from each other that one aspect can change without changing other aspects. But on the other hand we cannot assume that when we change one aspect the other aspects will always change either.

In other words, while we know there is some dependence and some interdependence among the many different dimensions of human community life, we really do not know very much about how the different dimensions are related to each other. It is best to admit our ignorance at the outset, because otherwise it is easy to draw unwarranted conclusions.

A few general points can be made, however. Social scientists usually talk of the different aspects or dimensions of human society

as systems. There are economic systems, political systems, social systems, and so on. Calling these aspects systems implies that they have different parts interacting with each other, and that they have certain patterns or structures. In fact, in one sense these "systems" are really patterns of human interaction, and these patterns are aspects of real human societies.

Each pattern or system is defined in terms of a theory. There are economic theories that refer to economic systems, political theories that refer to the political system, social theories that refer to the social system, and so on. Yet, as mentioned above, none of these theories, or the systems they refer to, are truly independent from each other. One of the reasons that human societies are so complicated is that there are all these different theories that refer back to each society or social group. Even an individual family has all the theoretical dimensions-- economic, political, etc.

There also remains the question of boundaries. What are the boundaries of a family system, or an economic system? What are the boundaries of an entire community or society? This is a very difficult problem, in part because the meaningful boundaries of each theoretical system are different from the boundaries of the others.

The boundaries of a political system may not coincide with social boundaries-- often different social groups are united through conquest or other means under one political system. Different

political units may be united through trade into an even larger economic system. In fact, as recent events demonstrate almost daily, in many ways we are all part of a worldwide economic system--what happens in Saudi Arabia can profoundly affect us here in Montana. Systems of religion, cultural systems, all have different ranges or boundaries.

Let us take one of the local ranching communities defined by Gold and his co-workers in the Decker-Birney-Ashland study (7). There would be no way to define the boundaries of one of these communities in economic terms, because for the most part they are composed of individual ranching families that relate as individual families to the regional and national economy. These communities do not form meaningful political units either. But they are meaningful social units, because the families interrelate with each other meaningfully on a social level and consider themselves members of a social community.

In fact, we can make a generalization and say that meaningful social units will in general be small geographically because social interaction depends on face-to-face interpersonal communication. Nancy Owens has observed (8) that the upper classes, the "jet set," tend to form international social groups, but that is because they can afford the transportation and telephone costs involved. They are an exception that proves the rule. Most of us belong to social groups that are more local in scope. Economic systems on the other

hand can be much larger because they depend on the impersonal flow of money and goods and services. Political systems can be large also, because they are defined by relatively impersonal institutions defining the distribution of power and authority.

All of this leads back to the main point, which is that many small and very different social groups or communities can all be integrated into the same political and economic systems. And there is no reason, just because this is the case, to assume that they will or should become like each other, or like other social groups that are also parts of the same economic system

In summary, there are two main points that are important in thinking about the different theoretical aspects or dimensions of human societies. The first point is that although we know the different aspects are somewhat related, we do not understand just how they are related. For example, we do not really know how a change in the economy will affect religion, politics, or social life, or even whether it will affect them at all.

The second point is that the different theoretical systems have different boundaries that do not coincide. This in itself tells us that the different systems interact in complex ways, and do not determine one another on a one-to-one basis. One generalization can be made, however. Geographically, economic systems tend to be the largest, and social systems tend to be the smallest. Different smaller, local social systems can maintain their relative

independence even though they are part of the same larger economic system.

Another way of looking at how the different dimensions of human society may be interrelated is to look at it from the point of view of a local community. What usually happens, since economic and political systems tend to expand, is that the local community finds itself integrated into much larger economic and political systems. This means that the economic and political aspects of local community life will have to change in order to accomodate to the larger systems of which they have now become part. However, the social, religious, and general cultural values of the community are not so directly affected, and may have to change much less or not at all.

For example, virtually nothing remains of the old buffalo-based economy of the plains tribes. Of course, the buffalo are gone, but in one way or another the tribes would have been forced to integrate into the money-based, free-enterprise/welfare system of the United States. To say that they have become integrated into this system does not imply that they have become economically like everyone else. Policies and circumstances have forced them into a distinctive niche in that economy (9)(10)(11). But it does suggest that their own original economy will have been largely replaced by one more compatible with this larger economic system.

This replacement may be seen clearly in the ways people make

a living, what they do to support their families (see Chapter II), and in the nature of basic subsistence items like food, clothing, and shelter. In these areas of life, which all relate directly to the basic economy, current forms prevalent throughout the United States have replaced the traditional forms that were unique to the Northern Cheyenne plains culture.

The same thing is generally true, but less so, in the political sphere. Traditional political institutions, the Chief and Military Societies, are present and important, but no longer play a role in official politics or government, and have fallen back on their social and religious functions.

However, Northern Cheyenne social and religious institutions and personal values are strong and vital aspects of the life of the Northern Cheyenne people, as is seen throughout this report. The social and religious systems have maintained themselves independently of changes in the economic and political spheres.

One reason for this is that social systems really depend on direct interpersonal interaction. Therefore, it is not possible for small local social systems to be integrated into ever larger levels of social interaction, as local economic and political systems can be integrated into larger economic and political systems. Sometimes a social sameness may become established over a large area by people of similar background, but real social communities, whose members actually interact and are bound to one another are

rarely more than local in scope. So the strictly social aspect of life may remain comparatively free in relation to the larger society. The traditional values and forms of community social life may remain relatively intact, even though economic and political forms have been forced to change drastically.

One other thing needs to be mentioned here, although we talked about it in more detail in Chapter III. When its comes down to many of the basic personal, social, and religious values that make life meaningful and worthwhile for people, they are supported by and expressed most directly through the community's social system. Normally, of course, these values would also be expressed in the political and economic spheres as well. But even if the economic and political ways of life change for a community, the social and religious values and traditions can still find meaning within the more persistent traditional aspect of community social life.

It is in this context that we can begin to understand the limits to the relative independence of the social aspects of community life. Generosity, for example, is a very important traditional value in Northern Cheyenne culture. Traditionally, it was an important part of the economic and political dimensions of tribal life, as well as the social dimension. Generosity in the Cheyenne way, however, has little place in the white-oriented economic and political systems that have come to dominate the modern economic and political systems of the Cheyennes. The conflict

between the social value of generosity and the economic and political values of individual advancement put considerable strain on the individual, who must learn two sets of values, and where and how to apply them in different contexts (see Chapters III and IV).

This is just one example that warns against overstating the case for the relative independence of the social system, or of other aspects of community life. Politics, society, economy, religion, they must all work together in any community. Any human community depends on all of them, singly or together. There has to be a government, an economy. Humans are always social and religious beings. These different systems are only relatively independent, and we simply do not know very much about how, when, or if a change in one dimension of community life will affect changes in the others.

To sum up, social differentiation theory tells us that different aspects of human society are both dependent and independent. It also tells us that local social systems will usually retain a greater degree of independence than local political and economic systems that are more easily integrated into broader political and economic systems. It explains how an Indian community such as the Northern Cheyenne Reservation can be integrated into the local regional, national, and even international economy, without giving up cherished social and religious values that give strength and meaning to the Cheyenne way of life.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V

(1) Frederik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1969).

(2) G. William Skinner, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China," in Jack Potter, George Foster, and May Diaz, (eds.), The Peasant Reader (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1967).

(3) Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Indians and the Metropolis," in Waddell and Watson (eds.), The American Indian in Urban Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971).

(4) Andre Gundar Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

(5) E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful, Economics as if People Mattered (New York, Harper & Row, 1973). See also Footnote (1), Chapter I, and "Schumacher Says That'Internal Colonialism' Is World Trend and Offers Solution," Tsistsistas Press, Vol. No. 2, Early March, 1977, p. 8.

(6) Al Gedicks, Kennecott Copper Corporation and Mining Development in Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin: Community Action on Latin America, 1973).

(7) Community Service Program, Final Report: A Study of Social Impact of Coal Development in the Decker-Birney-Ashland Area (Missoula, Montana, Prepared for the Montana Energy Advisory Council, May 31, 1975), Appendix C, pp. C-1 to C-4.

(8) Nancy Owens, personal communication in reviewing an earlier draft of this chapter.

(9) Jorgensen, op.cit., 1971.

(10) Nancy J. Owens, Indian Reservations and Bordertowns: The Metropolis-Satellite Model Applied to the Northwestern Navajos and the Umatillas (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1976).

(11) Chapter II of this report explains the particular place of the Reservation economy in the broader economy of the Northern Plains Region.

CHAPTER VI

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

by James P. Boggs
and Nancy J. Owens

There are two important policy issues facing the Northern Cheyenne Tribe as it contemplates economic development. The first is the management and development of the Tribe's resources. The second is the Tribe's participation in policy decisions that affect it. We will take up each question in turn.

A. MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRIBAL RESOURCES

Economic development decisions in white society are generally governed by considerations of efficiency and profit. However, economic development decisions on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation are governed also by the Tribe's concern with the present and future welfare of its people, and its land and natural environment. To the Northern Cheyenne people, all of life is interrelated. This is depicted by the Cheyenne Circle, presented on page 2 of this report. Development decisions must enhance all of life together, the total fabric of land, air, water, and living things. These concerns were brought out clearly by tribal members in their comments on large-scale coal development (see Chapter IV) and in their report to the Environmental Protection Agency earlier this year requesting a Class I air designation to protect their currently pristine air quality (1).

In this report we have focused primarily on the "living things" portion of the Cheyenne Circle, and specifically on people. But the interrelatedness of all parts of the Circle must be continually borne in mind. In the next few paragraphs we will summarize briefly the important cultural, social, economic, political, and environmental concerns that must be accomodated in any Cheyenne economic development scheme. A development scheme that enhances the following concerns will probably be beneficial. Any of the concerns listed that is not enhanced becomes an adverse impact of a particular development scheme. This list consists of concerns brought out in the 1975 household survey (see Chapter IV) and by the elders (see Chapter III), and also concerns that we have heard repeatedly expressed by tribal members over the past year.

1. Cultural Concerns

Economic development must benefit the Tribe as a whole. It must preserve the land and resources and ensure the welfare of the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren that will constitute the Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the future. The Northern Cheyenne view of the future is very long compared to the non-Indian view. They look ahead several generations when analyzing the effects of any major decision, not just the next five or ten years.

To benefit the Tribe as a whole, the economic development must be broadly based. For example, in the area of jobs, a large number

of moderately paying but stable jobs would be preferable to a few high paying jobs. Jobs that provide the opportunity to serve others in the community, and jobs that are consistent with Cheyenne life-styles and kinship olbligations will enable those who obtain jobs from the development to help others who were not able to obtain jobs.

The benefits of development should be spread among all five communities on the reservation. The development should be oriented to the inner economy of the reservation rather than to the external market. And the development should be human scale, not requiring a large bureaucracy. These features will help ensure that the development is broadly based and will benefit the Tribe as a whole.

Additional cultural concerns are that any particular development should be supportive of the Northern Cheyenne language, religion, and the entire culture. It should promote the role of the tribal Elders in the decision-making process.

This list of cultural concerns is quite general. There are many other important specific cultural concerns that should be taken into account in any development decisions. Any development that goes ahead without addressing these and other cultural concerns we have not included will have an adverse impact on the Northern Cheyenne culture.

2. Social Concerns

From the social point of view, economic development must go hand in hand with community development. It should benefit all

communities and age groups. In addition, any economic development must help solve existing social problems. It must not make existing social problems worse, nor create new ones.

Development that helps to reduce alcoholism and drug abuse, that supplies recreational facilities for all ages, that will help improve education, housing, health and medical care, and other services, will help solve some of the social problems that most concern tribal members. In addition, development should have a beneficial impact by reducing crime and unemployment, by improving communication and cooperation among people, and by supporting and strengthening family and kinship realtionships.

Development schemes that will not ameliorate these social problems can be considered to have an adverse social impact.

3. Economic Concerns

Economic development must result in more jobs and income for Northern Cheyenne families. It must provide needed goods and services to the people, through the development of local businesses. Tribal members are very aware of the "multiplier effect" and want to keep more money here on the reservation, to create jobs for local people, and to provide more goods and services locally.

In order to provide jobs, the development should require lots of labor rather than lots of machines. It should utilize the skills that Northern Cheyennes now possess and provide on-the-job training to develop new ones.

As far as income is concerned, greater income might be created

by more jobs, by "per capita" payments to all tribal members, or by increased tribal services and/or major businesses that would offer necessities such as food, fuel, and housing at cheaper prices.

4. Political Concerns

Economic development should be controlled by the Tribe, and should enhance tribal sovereignty. Development will also have a beneficial political impact if its benefits are broadly based, as mentioned above, because this will help bring the Tribe together and enhance communication and cooperation. It is particularly important that development schemes not create factions among the people. The tribal government needs the support of all the people to operate effectively. A broad base of support and/or participation in tribal government and tribal affairs will most likely come about if an economic development scheme benefits the Tribe as a whole, and not just a few individuals or a few groups. Development schemes that do not benefit the Tribe as a whole will therefore most likely have an adverse political impact. Development schemes that are not controlled by the Tribe or that do not enhance tribal sovereignty will also have an adverse political impact.

5. Environmental Concerns

Any development scheme must protect the land, air, and water. Pollution of air or water is not acceptable to the Northern Cheyenne people (see Chapter IV). In addition, for some people, any form of

land disturbance may not be acceptable. Traditionally, the land is held sacred, and must not be torn up. Great care must be taken of environmental concerns, then, in any economic development scheme.

6. Summary

The cultural, social, economic, political, and environmental concerns just enumerated are evidenced in the kinds of tribal business endeavors that have been suggested by tribal members (see Chapters II and IV). In general, they are small scale, capable of being controlled by the Tribe, use renewable resources and/or provide needed goods and services to tribal members. They are oriented to the "inner economy" rather than to export. They show concern for the multiplier effect of creating jobs and keeping money on the reservation. They serve the goal of benefitting the Tribe as a whole.

According to the responses of tribal members in the 1975 household survey, the extractive sort of development that is characteristic of the regional economy, and that will increase as large-scale coal development grows in this area, is not favored by most Cheyennes. Eventually, the Tribe will decide by referendum vote what its stand on coal development will be. However, the concerns expressed by those interviewed in the 1975 survey show that there is strong support for tribal economic development in which tribal resources are developed to benefit local people, rather than to benefit distant urban areas. Not all tribal members are in agreement, each

has his or her own opinion. But overall the survey results show that the people want development to benefit the Tribe as a whole, not just a few. They want to control the development to be sure it meets their needs, not just the needs of outsiders. They want development to enhance the Cheyenne way of life, not force assimilation to non-Indian ways. They want development to promote the social welfare and health of the Tribe, and to benefit each community on the reservation. They want jobs that are satisfying and meaningful, that offer the opportunity to use acquired skills and that serve the community. They want sufficient income to live comfotably. In short, they want community development to be an integral part of economic development. To the authors of this chapter it seems that the community development must go hand in hand with the economic development. It cannot happen after the fact, as is usually the case in extractive development, where profits or revenues are used after the initial social disruption to patch up or recreate a community by building parks and shopping centers. Tribal members are not talking about a patch-up job, but rather an orderly on-going process that begins and remains under the control of the Tribe.

Economic development decisions will not be easy, as the Tribe well knows. Most development options available to the tribes today are heavily influenced by off-reservation economic conditions and values. Even many developments that could contribute to increased tribal economic self-sufficiency are

likely to be tied into off-reservation institutions, economic conditions and values. To date tribes have not had the initiative in defining the nature of these financial and other ties to the political economy of the United States. This has meant that most economic development schemes that tribes have tried, have resulted in adverse social, cultural, economic, political, and environmental impacts.

One possible strategy for resolving the inherent value conflicts in favor of the tribes would be for the tribes to develop codes, laws, and institutions that would allow them to function as a unit in relation to the competitive market forces, economic pressures and opportunities of the outside world, but that would allocate resources and opportunities within the tribes themselves along the lines of traditional values. This strategy is possible where a tribe has control of its resources. In the Cheyenne's case, the Hollowbreast decision (see p. 12) determined that the Tribe, rather than individual landowners, was the owner of the minerals embedded in the reservation area.

As owner of the mineral resource, the Tribe can control when development will or will not occur, and can eventually manage any future development so that it will benefit the Tribe as a whole and will not simply run over traditional values and concerns of the people. This would not be possible had it been determined that individual allottees and their heirs were the owners of the coal, because then each person would have related individ-

ually to outside economic pressures and opportunities. One possible way the Tribe could blend tribal ownership and individual enterprise in other on-reservation business ventures would be to retain ownership of real estate and buildings and lease them to individual tribal operators -- somewhat as is done with tribal grazing land.

We offer these very general development strategies only as something to think about. Actually, there are few if any successful examples of tribal economic development to follow, either here or from other tribes. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe has exercised caution and patience in economic development decisions. This has often resulted in no development, but when the only other choice for the moment is large-scale, intensely disruptive extractive industry, or some other unacceptable alternative, no development is the wisest choice because it leaves the options open for when the right kinds of development can be implemented.

B. TRIBAL PARTICIPATION IN POLICY DECISIONS

1. The Importance of Tribal Participation

The Northern Cheyenne Reservation is in many respects very different from the areas that surround it. It is very different both from the Crow Indian Reservation on its western border, and from the non-Indian ranching communities and small towns on its northern, eastern, and southern borders. Yet it is not isolated from these areas. What happens in them deeply affects the Northern

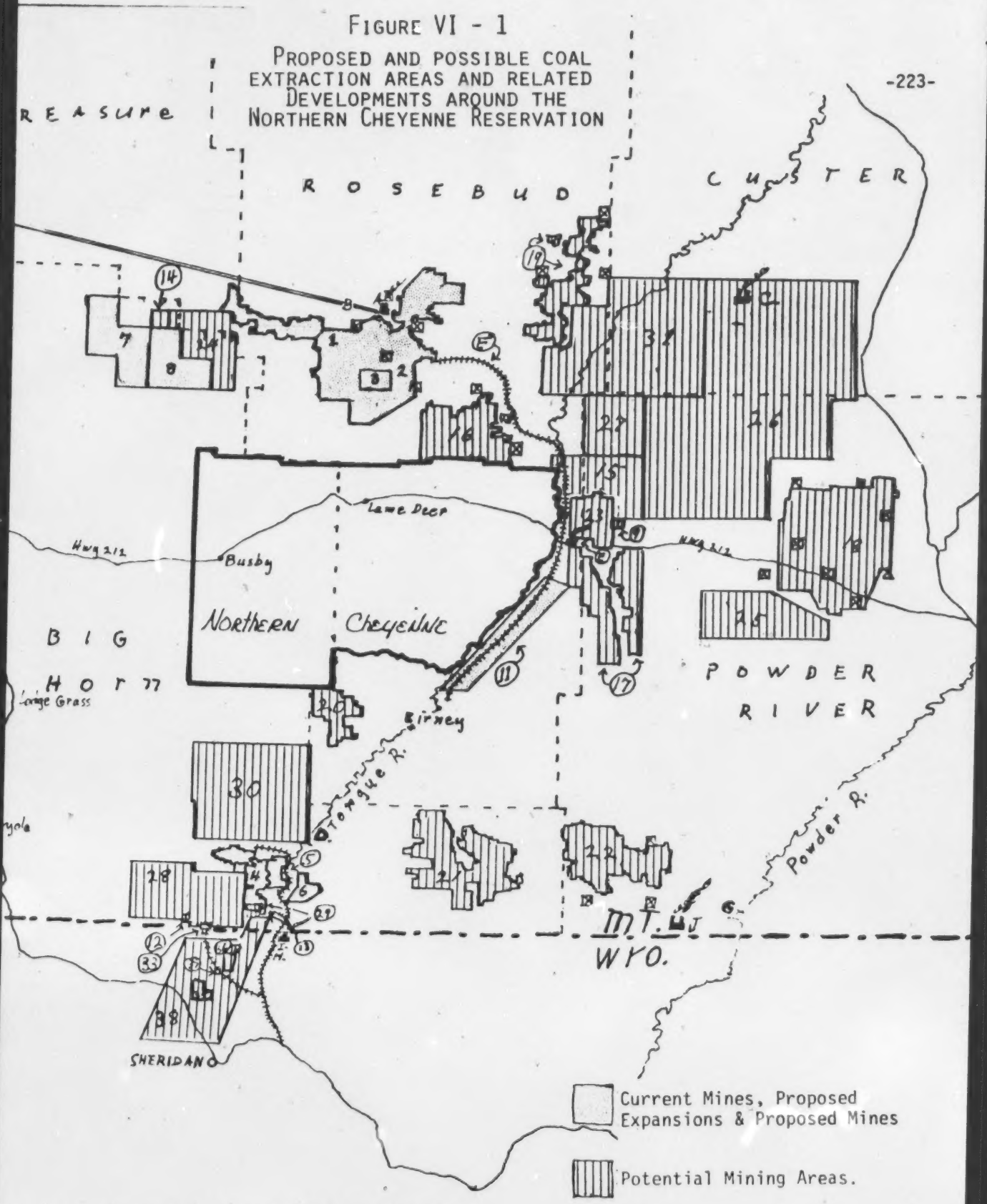
Cheyenne Reservation, and vice versa. Figure VI - 1 (reproduced from an earlier page in the report for easy reference) shows the extent to which coal mining developments may take place around the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. In addition, a great portion of Crow-owned coal is located along the western border of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. If the Crow Tribe decides to develop its coal the Northern Cheyennes will be affected by developments on all four sides of the reservation.

The impacts of off-reservation coal development on the Northern Cheyennes are not being addressed in this report. However, it is clear from even a brief glance at the map above that the impacts will be substantial. It is also clear that the Northern Cheyenne Tribe must be integrally involved in policy decisions regarding coal development off the reservation. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is not like the Crow Tribe and it is not like the non-Indian communities of southeastern Montana. These differences dictate that all three groups be integrally involved in policy decisions affecting them.

Social differentiation theory (Chapter V) points out that any particular economic development project is part of a geographically very large economic system (where energy is concerned it is international in scope), while the direct impacts of that specific development project will be borne by distinct local communities. In southeastern Montana there are at least three major social and political entities involved: the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Crow Tribe,

FIGURE VI - 1

PROPOSED AND POSSIBLE COAL EXTRACTION AREAS AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS AROUND THE NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION



Source: Montana State Research Team of Northern Powder River Basin EIS

and the non-Indian communities which are represented by the state of Montana. In an area containing so many diverse cultural and political groups, responsible decision-making becomes very complicated. Because each group is different, each will be impacted differently. The impacts to each group will depend on the baseline conditions of each group and on the goals and aspirations of each group for the future. In addition, the economic impacts of each group will depend heavily on the niche each group now occupies in the regional economy, for its current niche will determine how able it is to take advantage of, or be disadvantaged by, new developments.

In short, local communities are an important part of life in the impacted areas, and they will as communities be seriously affected by proposed developments. For these reasons they should be adequately represented in impact analyses. Typically policy decisions are made without adequte consideration of the impacts on local communities, and without adequate political participation by the local communities. This is currently the situation with coal development policy decisions in southeastern Montana.

In the remainder of this chapter we will consider some methodlogical guidelines for future research and policy based on social differentiation theory (Chapter V). These methodological guidelines apply in general to impacts on any community affected by large scale economic development. However, they are applied here

to stress the importance of participation by each distinct local community in southeastern Montana, and particularly the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, in the economic decisions that will so profoundly effect the entire fabric of life in this area.

2. Methodological Guidelines for Future Research and Policy

There has been some good sociological work done on local communities and values in this southeastern Montana area (2) (3). But economists and planners seem not to pick up on it. We have not seen the broader implications of this sociological research applied in economic development planning or impact analyses. In short, one of the biggest problems in planning and impact analyses is the lack of integration of social and economic research. In this report, we have tried to provide this needed integration in the theoretical framework developed in Chapter V, and in the regional perspective of Chapter I, and in Chapter III and IV in the expressed goals and cogent analyses of tribal members.

In spite of studies that describe the local social and economic structure and that document the concerns of local people, study after study has been issued that analyzes the impacts of proposed coal developments without any regard for the actual effects on existing local people.

a. Local Communities Are Ignored in Impact Assessment

Impact analyses prepared recently for this area of southeastern Montana provide some good examples of what not to do in any future analyses that might involve the Northern Cheyenne Tribe.

For example, the "Colstrip and Forsyth Community Report" of the "Construction Worker Profile" distinguishes between long-term residents of the area and newcomers, but "long-term residents" are defined as those people who were living in their current town before they started work at their present job (4). Therefore, people who recently moved into the area but subsequently switched jobs could be counted as "long-term residents." Furthermore, commuters from as far away as Billings were counted among the "local" population, even though they came from a separate social and economic community over a hundred miles away. True local communities are not discussed in the report, and there is no way to break them out from the data presented.

The Decker-Birney-Ashland Economic Study (prepared by White in 1975) is also disappointing in this regard (5). It presents useful economic figures in its data section, and does consider the Northern Cheyenne reservation separately as much as the data allow. But in its impact analysis it ignores the Northern Cheyenne and all other local communities entirely. It presents its impact assessments only in terms of total earnings, jobs, income into the area, and so on. It does not consider the structure of local communities, nor how they will be affected by the job, income, and net migration figures it presents.

Similar features are apparent in the Crow-Westmoreland EIS (6) and the Northern Cheyenne Planning Study (7). Probably the worst thing about shich studies is that they do not differentiate between the "pre-boom" population (the true or original local community) and the "boom" population (which will consist of many newcomers).

In fact, EIS and similar reports in general are extremely weak in their analyses of social and cultural impacts. There are probably many reasons for this. Acculturation viewpoints as described in Chapter V may lead administrators to gloss over social/cultural considerations. A related cause may be the general failure in our mobile society to recognize that local communities and cultures are still sociologically important in people's lives. There is also the legal anomoly that although social and economic impacts must be considered in such reports, the resulting analyses may effectively be ignored in subsequent policy decisions. Therefore social and cultural impacts receive very pro forma treatment, leading to their being further ignored--a classic "vicious circle."

In any event, such studies rarely have the time or resources needed to produce even the baseline data, let alone the theory, needed for adequate analysis. D.W. Schindler addresses this problem in an editorial in Science magazine, which is reproduced in the Appendix below (p. A - 5). Chapter V of this report is a preliminary attempt to formulate adequate policy-oriented social theory.

Even at this stage social differentiation theory has important methodological implications for research and policy. It can accom-

odate the cultural, social, and economic realities we have encountered on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation and in the surrounding region and probably those of many other local communities and regions as well. Some implications of social differentiation theory are detailed below.

b. Involving the Local Community in Research and Policy

1) Introduction

We will present in a moment some brief methodological suggestions for how the Northern Cheyenne Tribe might be more fairly represented in policy-oriented research in this area. But first, there is one methodological principle that needs to come before all the others. It is that the Tribe should be actively involved in the impact assessment procedure, and not be just the passive subject of the analysis. This active involvement in the study itself is important for a number of reasons.

2) The Need for Community Involvement

Outsiders, perhaps representing large economic or governmental interests, often formulate plans for local areas. Even though these outside interests may write impact analyses and planning documents, and hold public meetings, the interests of local communities such as small towns, ranching communities, or tribes are rarely adequately represented, as we have seen already.

In the first place, the impact analysis document usually prepared by or for these outside interests may consider a range of possible impacts from the plans they are making for the local area. The effects considered may range all the way from impacts on soils, water, and air, to impacts on local wildlife, to "social" and economic impacts. However, as we have seen, "social and economic impacts" are usually dealt with in terms of very general economic and demographic statistics that often override and ignore the existence of local social systems.

So the local and traditional communities that provide the foundation for human cultural life in the area may actually receive less attention as such in these EIS's than do local species of fish and frogs. This is particulary sad in light of Gold's observation (8) that human social systems are not only fragile and vulnerable to certain kinds of impacts, but are also completely irreplaceable and that damage to social forms is irreparable. Social systems are extremely complex, they can only be respected, they cannot be "engineered" or "reclaimed".

Once the impact analysis document is prepared, it is usually made available for public review and comment. At this point community input is possible, along with all the other public responses. But this is hardly adequate representation for a tribe or a community whose very existence may be at stake; especially when the analysis document itself does not contain the information needed for an informed response, and community members are unlikely to have

the time, expertise, or resources needed to do an adequate analysis on their own.

Once the public review period is over, public response is incorporated into the analysis, and the analysis document becomes one of the things that the people who make policies and decisions have to consider as they plan the future of the area. At this point, no provisions whatever are made for easy or institutionalized involvement of the local community or tribe in the actual decision- or policy-making processes themselves. Thus, the most important dimensions of human social life are typically ignored from one end of the decision-making process to the other. In fact, from the point of view of the local people, the whole process is often a farce that simply allows outsiders to come in and take what they want. That the destiny of the local community or tribe may be at stake is apparently beside the point.

Just how much beside the point was made clear by the sale of mining permits and leases of Northern Cheyenne coal in the late 1960's (see Introduction to this report). It is no exaggeration to say that the Tribe would have been overwhelmed if even a fraction of the extraction plan envisioned in these leases had actually occurred. It would simply have ceased to exist as a unique social and cultural entity with its own language and way of life. All of this would have been lost if the Tribe itself had not taken action. The Tribe did take legal action against the companies and the B.I.A., and also took action to begin to find out

for itself the nature and extent of its resources, and the long-term implications of different development options. But legal action like this is expensive; it is better to know what is going to go on ahead of time.

Admittedly, this is an extreme example. Neither the B.I.A. nor the companies prepared even so much as a pro-forma impact analysis to justify their actions. Their negligence was fortunate in a number of ways, one being that it made the lesson for the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and for other communities all the more clear. The lesson is that, when it comes down to it, no one except members or representatives of the community itself will adequately represent the local community in research or in policy decisions. Nor, in spite of all we can say, will community participation always be welcome. So the community itself must take action to make sure it is represented. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe has reason to be proud that it has become a national leader in this regard, but there always seem to be new issues that require attention. Here is a brief list of some of the more important studies that are planned or are underway for this area. Barring tribal initiative, they will ignore the Tribe just as thoroughly as the already completed studies mentioned above ignored communities in their respective areas.

3) Current Projects and Issues that Require Tribal Participation

a) Legal Background

The National Environmental Protection Act of 1969 (NEPA) and the Montana Environmental Policy Act (MEPA) require most coal mines or generating plants or other large projects to have an environmental impact statement (EIS) made before they can start construction. An EIS performed under these laws must consider the potential effects on the surrounding area. A recent Supreme Court decision says in addition that regional impact studies must also be conducted when proposed developments are essentially regional in scope.

Under these laws both regional and site-specific studies are rapidly being scheduled for the area in which the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation is located.

b) Impact Studies Currently in Process or Scheduled for this Area

We are aware of at least three impact statements that are being prepared for areas adjacent to the reservation, and that tribal members need to be aware of.

i) The Custer Forest Planning Study

One study that is nearing completion is being prepared for the Custer National Forest. It is relying largely on social and economic data from the 1970 U.S. Census to characterize the reservation. The data is available in The Decker-Birney-Ashland Economic Study mentioned above that breaks out the census dis-

tricts most closely corresponding to the reservation for special analysis. The Tribe, along with local county governments, has been asked to respond to a preliminary draft of alternative management possibilities for the Custer Forest.

ii) The Northern Powder River EIS

A large regional study called the Northern Powder River Basin Environmental Impact Statement (NPRB EIS) is currently underway. This study was begun about June 1976 by the United States Geological Survey (USGS). The State of Montana asked to become a partner in the study, and did enter the study about November 1976. A first draft is scheduled to be completed in October 1977.

The significant thing about this study is that the impact generating area surrounds the reservation on three sides (see Figure VI-1 and Appendix). The reservation is obviously important to the study since it will receive impacts from the study area all around it. Yet the USGS did not ask the Northern Cheyenne Tribe to participate in the study. The State Team, on the other hand, has favored participation of both the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Tribes in the EIS, and has supported the Northern Cheyennes' request for partnership in the study. This impact study, like the one for the Custer Forest, also proposed to use whatever data happened to be available to talk about projected impacts on the reservation.

iii) The Nance Mine

Montco Corporation has immediate plans to open up a large coal mine starting on Mark Nance's ranch right across the Tongue River from Birney Village (see Figure VI - 1, Area #11). They have already asked the Tribe for permission to drill test holes for monitoring water quality on the reservation side of the river. Montco is also contracting with the State Lands Department for a complete EIS to be written for the Nance Mine.

4) Discussion: Lack of Tribal Participation in the On-going EIS Studies

The Custer and Northern Powder River Basin studies both proposed to write about the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, to make impact projections, using whatever data was publically available without consulting the Tribe. In doing so, they would have followed the typical EIS procedure and format. The Tribe would of course be given the same opportunity as everyone else to comment on preliminary drafts, but no real participation of the Tribe in these studies was contemplated.

The Tribe has taken its own initiative in asking the USGS, the State, and the Secretary of the Interior to authorize its participation in the NPRBEIS. If Interior grants the Tribe's request, the Northern Cheyenne will participate in <u>preparing</u> the report on a partnership basis with the State and Federal teams.

The Custer study is well under way, and the Tribe will not particpate in this study although it will submit comments. The Tribe has also requested the Montana Department of State Lands for participation in the Nance Mine study and as of this writing is negotiating the terms under which it might participate.

The pattern is clear. The pattern, barring tribal initiative, has been for the people conducting these EIS's to scrape together whatever data is easily available to write about the Tribe and the Reservation without even asking for meaningful tribal input, much less participation.

c. Methodological Guidelines for Community Participation

1) Introduction

The idea that local communities should be involved in policy-oriented research that affects them follows directly from the recognition that local communities are an important part of the human environment of any area. This recognition in turn follows the social differentiation theory introduced in Chapter V. This chain of reasoning, however, contradicts from beginning to end the assumptions that most impact statements are based on.

Most impact analysis documents ignore local communites, so they must assume either that no distinct local communities exist, or else that, as such, they are or soon will be unimportant. This kind of assumption must in turn be based on assimilation or acculturation

theories that try to explain how local social structure always or should melt into larger economic and political systems. We have already seen reason (in Chapter V) to doubt that acculturation theories in social science really provide an adequate scientific basis for policy-oriented research or for policy decisions, however.

The result of the standard EIS theory and format is that there are few good models for how local communities might be represented in impact analysis documents. As was stated, the most important thing is for local communities to be actively involved in the preparation of the analysis to begin with, but more specific methodological guidelines are also needed. Here are a few very general suggestions that come from our experience and findings here on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. They are meant to point in what we hope is the right direction, rather than be a complete set of methodological procedures.

2) Defining the Community

Sometimes the existence of a local community of people will be obvious. No one could miss the fact that the Northern Cheyenne Tribe is such a community, nor is it particularly difficult to define although it may be defined somewhat differently for different purposes. For example, the community may be defined as only tribal members who live on or near the reservation, or it could include all

tribal members no matter where they live. This will depend on the problem at hand.

Sometimes, however, the existence of local communities probably will not be so obvious, and basic social research will be needed to establish whether local communities exist, and if so what their boundaries are. The work of Ray Gold and his associates from the University of Montana on local ranching communities is a landmark for this kind of research in this area (9). Methodological suggestions may also be drawn from the work of Frederik Barth (10) and his colleagues in other parts of the world, and probably from other social science research with which the professional reader will be familiar.

Often, we suspect, the existence of a local community will become apparent when it takes legal and political action as a whole against outside threats to its existence as a community. Perhaps the most general guideline when there is doubt whether or not local communiites exist is simply to find the right ways to ask the local people, they will know.

3) The Community's Role in the Larger Economy

We have noted that many distinct social communities exist within the same overarching economic system. Similarly, each community, or group of similar communities, or sub-growth within communities, may occupy distinct economic niches in the overall

economy. For example, in southeastern Montana the ranching community and the group of small town merchants occupy somewhat different economic niches. In the past, according to Gold (11), these two groups operated closely economically, but their distinctiveness has grown with the advent of coal development, because the ranches stand primarily to lose from coal development, while the merchants stand primarily to win.

Frequently distinct and different social groups will occupy a similar economic niche. For example, the Northern Cheyenne and Crow Tribes are very different from each other culturally, socially, and politically. Yet they share a similar economic niche that is characterized by low incomes, high unemployment, and the lack of any stable, diversified, independent economic base. This economic niche is commonly occupied by minority groups, both rural and urban, throughout our nation.

The economic niche of a prticular group will strongly affect the way in which the group will either benefit from, or be disadvantaged by, a major new economic development. These differences must not be glossed over in impact reports. Rather they must be explicitly addressed, and thus a different economic prognosis for each group may be carefully analyzed. It must not be assumed that the overall costs and benefits of a major development will be equally distributed among all the social groups involved.

4) Community Roots

Stable, cohesive communities are always characterized by distinctive social orgnizations and customs. It takes a long time for such communities to evolve. Probably the best contrast to such communities, and also one of the things most disruptive to them, is the "boom town" phenomenon that has often been associated with recent coal-related energy developments in the western United States.

Boom towns consist of people brought together by purely economic considerations, and living under well-defined legal and political systems. Yet they do not have the right conditions, especially not enough time or stability, to become true social communities, nor for even more local stable neighborhood communities to form within them. They are failures as experiments in social living, with very high rates of alcoholism, crime, suicide, mental health case loads, divorce, and so on. Their failures point as clearly as anything else to the importance of the often ignored social dimension of human life.

Since social systems take time to form, an important part of a community's life is its history, its roots. The Tribe's history plays an important part in the present values and concerns of the Northern Cheyenne people, in their conciousness of the value of Northern Cheyenne traditions and homeland. Local ranching communities in this area do not have as rich nor as deep a history as does the Tribe, but the knowledge that they represent three or four generations on the land is an important part of their conciousness too, and is a value they will not lightly throw away (12).

Communities have roots because community social organization and values take time to form. They cannot be created overnight, nor as Gold (13) observes, can they be created once they are destroyed. Therefore, an important part of community values has to do with the sense people have of their community's place in time. This includes the future as well as the past--the continuity and perpetuation of the community through its future generations. It includes the values and concerns people have for the long-term future of their community, and their anticipation of the positive and negative effects of possible developments on the community as a whole.

5) Community Organization

Communities are organized, which means that they are differentiated internally. There is always some degree of friction as well as cooperation among the community segments. Some important segments are usually defined by demographic variables: age, sex, income, location of residence, blood degree, occupation, and so forth. Some interest groups may cut across a number of these variables. Defining these groups and their interrelationships will be important in any assessment of impacts on the local community.

d. Summary

In short, social differentiation theory requires that social systems be distinguished from broader economic systems, that social systems be recognized as communities rather than as mere regional clusters of demographic variables, and that economic impacts be considered relative to their effects on local communities and not as isolated events in a world all of their own. It also requires that economic analysis be refined. The economic niche occupied by the local community must be specified so that it is not assumed that overall economic costs and benefits will be equally distributed among all the different social groups involved.

4. Conclusions

An impact study or analysis can only be as good as the material it works with. It goes without saying that impact studies need good data and can use good theory. They need to take account of the regional setting and the external forces affecting the impacted area. They also need at least some background in the history of the area and its people, since projections of the future need to be grounded in some understanding of the way that the people and societies involved have reacted to past events. An adequate study must also consider the social and cultural realities that govern people's concerns and behaviors in the affected area.

If people of different societies and cultural backgrounds are involved in the impacted area, it will be essential to have the participation of all of these groups in the study effort. How could non-Indians, for example, possibly have the understanding of tribal histories and present concerns necessary to make an analysis of on-reservation impacts valid, or even believable? Looked at in this light, it is simply ridiculous for a study team based somewhere off the reservation to think it possible to scrape together some statistics about the reservation, and then do a social and economic impact analysis of the reservation community.

Even when good data are available, tribal input is necessary to provide the cultural context for understanding what it means, and for interpreting and applying its relevance to the specific situations presented by whatever impacts are involved. Tribal participation is also needed for introducing the tribal viewpoint regarding the regional and historical setting of the impacts, and for reviewing whether the various ideas and assumptions that naturally come out of the study efforts of this sort really are reasonable as far as the reservation is concerned.

In short, if different societies or cultures are going to be involved in the same study, then this will introduce whole new areas of complexity, as this report shows. Minimally, the study must have the meaningful participation of both cultural groups in its preparation. If one group is going to be left out of participating in the analysis and writing of the report, then it should

be left out of the study altogether. A local community or tribe should not be written about in an EIS by outsiders with insufficient access to data and background understanding, when the EIS will be consulted by decision-makers and serve as one basis for policy in that area.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI

(1) Northern Cheyenne Research Project, The Northern Cheyenne Air Quality Redesignation Report and Request (Lame Deer, Montana, 1977).

(2) Raymond A. Gold, et.al., A Comparative Case Study of the Impact of Coal Development on the Way of Life of People in the Coal Areas of Eastern Montana and Northeastern Wyoming, Final Report (Missoula, Montana: Institute for Social Science Research, University of Montana, 1974, Second Edition).

(3) P.C. Jobes and M.G. Parson, Satisfaction, Coal Development and Land Use Planning: A Report of Attitudes Held by Residents of the Birney-Decker Area (Bozeman, Montana: Department of Sociology, Montana State University, 1975).

(4) Mountain West Research, Inc., "Community Report, Forsyth and Colstrip, Montana" of the Construction Worker Profile (Billings, Montana: A Report Prepared for the Old West Regional Commission, 1975).

(5) Randle V. White, The Decker-Birney-Ashland Area and Coal Development, An Economic Study (Missoula, Montana, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Montana, June 1975).

(6) U.S. Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Draft Programmatic Environmental Statement: Projected Coals Development, Crow Indian Reservation (Billings, Montana: DES 75-2, 1975).

(7) Wirth Associates, Northern Cheyenne Planning Study: Socio-Economic Analysis of Potential Coals Development (Helena and Lame Deer, Montana: A Report Prepared for the Department of Inter-Governmental Relations, State of Montana, and the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council, September, 1973).

(8) Raymond A. Gold, Testimony, Northern Cheyenne Air Quality Redesignation Hearings (Lame Deer, Montana, January 17, 1977). See Northern Cheyenne Research Project, op.cit., Vol II, pp. 42-45.

(9) Community Service Program, Final Report: A Study of Social Impact of Coal Development in the Decker-Birney-Ashland Area (Missoula, Montana, Prepared for the Montana Energy Advisory Council, May 31, 1975), Appendix C, pp. C-1 to C-4.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI - (Cont'd)

(10) Frederik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1969).

(11) Gold, op.cit., 1974.

(12) Community Service Program, op.cit., p. C-8.

(13) Gold, op.cit., 1977.

CHAPTER VII

DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC BASELINE DATA RESEARCH

by Nancy J. Owens

Since 1975 the Northern Cheyenne Research Project has been collecting baseline demographic and economic data through survey research. It has been a very large undertaking because survey research requires considerable time and manpower. However, the extensive social and economic survey work has been necessary because the basic data it has provided about the Northern Cheyenne Reservation and its people have not been available to the Tribe through any other source.

Data gathered by the counties in which the reservation is located, data gathered by the state, and even data gathered by the U.S. Census have been virtually useless to the Tribe because data gathering and analysis techniques used by state and national agencies have not recognized the Tribe's need for information about its people. Data have been gathered and analyzed without regard to reservation boundaries or, usually, ethnic breakdowns that distinguish Indians as a unique group. As a result major data gathering efforts such as the U.S. Census have not provided adequate detail for tribal planning. Furthermore, the reliability of such data gathering efforts on the reservation is impaired unless tribal members are used as interviewers, since they know their community, know how to phrase questions, and can overcome

page 246 blank.

the Cheyenne/English language barrier. However, tribal members have seldom been used in data gathering efforts sponsored by state and national agencies. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has never been sufficiently staffed or funded to conduct the field research necessary to provide accurate and reliable information to the Tribe. BIA figures have very frequently been best guesses compiled at someone's desk rather than from field data.

In order to provide necessary social and economic baseline data for the Tribe, the Northern Cheyenne Research Project has been involved in five surveys. These surveys have been made possible by financial assistance from a variety of sources, including the Old West Regional Commission, Office of Native American Programs out of HEW, P.L. 93.638 funds granted to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, technical assistance funds from ACKCO, Inc. of Boulder, Colorado, and training funds from the Northern Cheyenne Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) office. The five surveys and their principal purposes are as follows.

(1) The 1975 household survey gathered information on education, employment, and income of family members, housing, mobility, shopping patterns, and tribal members' opinions about economic development options, preservation of the Northern Cheyenne way of life, and reservation social problems of greatest concern.

(2) The 1976 Tribal Census collected the following information from each reservation household: age, sex, ethnic group, and

enrollment status of all household members. The Census also covered the Labre Mission grounds and Northern Cheyennes living in the town of Ashland and in rural areas adjacent to the reservation.

(3) The 1977 household survey collected information on education and employment from a larger sample than the 1975 survey. It also contained questions submitted by the various tribal programs to help them in planning and evaluating their programs. As such, it serves as an evaluation of the reservation public services sector.

(4) The 1977 business survey gathered information from businesses on and adjacent to the reservation to inform the Tribe what businesses are operating on and around the reservation, who owns them (Cheyennes or non-Cheyennes), how many persons are employed in them (Cheyennes or non-Cheyennes), and how much money is flowing into and out of the reservation through these businesses.

(5) The 1977 public agency survey gave similar information about the amount of money flowing into the reservation for services and the number and types of jobs provided by service agencies for Cheyennes and non-Cheyennes.

In addition to the survey work, members of the Research Project staff were able to talk with some of the tribal elders, to put information gained from the surveys into a cultural context. The elders gave insight into how this information might be used to enhance the Northern Cheyenne way of life. They told about

past experiences the Tribe has had with economic development, and how these past experiences might effect the future.

As a result of the above survey work, the Tribe now has a good number of people who are well trained and who have had considerable experience in survey research. (These people are named in the Acknowledgements section of the Introduction). In addition, the Tribe now has in its possession basic social and economic information that it can use in planning for the future. It is information that has never before been available to the Tribe in adequate detail.

Analysis of the survey material is substantially completed. Information available to the Tribe includes the following.

(1) Population of the reservation and Labre mission grounds

(2) Population projections for 1980, 1985, and 1990

(3) Education figures

(4) Employ ment and unemployment figures

(5) Occupation and wage structure of reservation employment

(6) Income figures

(7) Tribal members' opinions about tribal economic development from the 1975 and 1977 household surveys:

   a. Suggestions for tribal business ventures

   b. Important cultural concerns

   c. Critical community problems

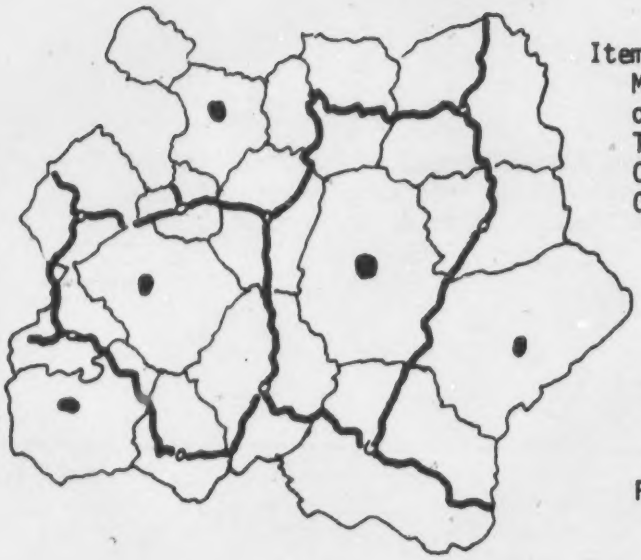
(8) A compilation of memos to various tribal programs providing analyses of the survey results for questions

they submitted to the 1977 household survey. Included are analyses of people's concerns about law enforcement, alcoholism, education, and so on.

In addition, analytical work carried out under the Old West Regional Commission grant has provided the Tribe with the social-cultural framework for economic development represented by this volume, and the methodological framework for analyzing demographic and economic impacts of development which constitutes Volume II of this report. Much of the analytical work was based on the detailed information provided by the surveys, and it was written to provide frameworks and understandings that will encourage wise, sensitive, and sensible uses of this information.

APPENDIX

A - 1



Item A.1: The Geographic Pattern of Market Areas in a Hilly Region of Rural China, Showing How They Tend to Form Into Regular Areas Centering on Market Towns (see Chapter I, p. 47 and Footnote (6)).

Smaller, 1st-Level Market Areas.
Larger, 2nd-Level Market Areas.
Local Market Towns.
Higher-Level Market Towns.

Fig. A.1.a: The Approximate Boundaries of the Market Areas*

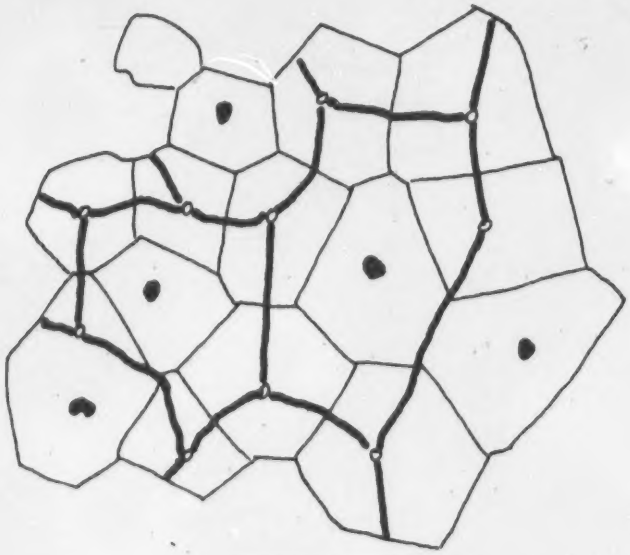


Fig. A.1.b: A First Abstraction of the Market Areas Made by Straightening Out the Lines.*

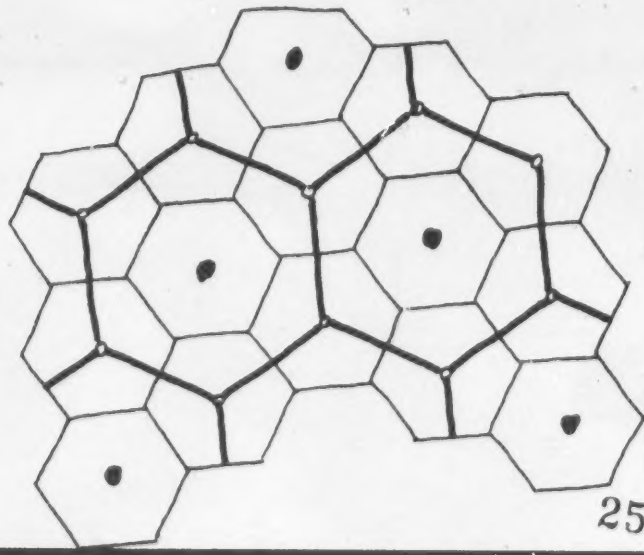
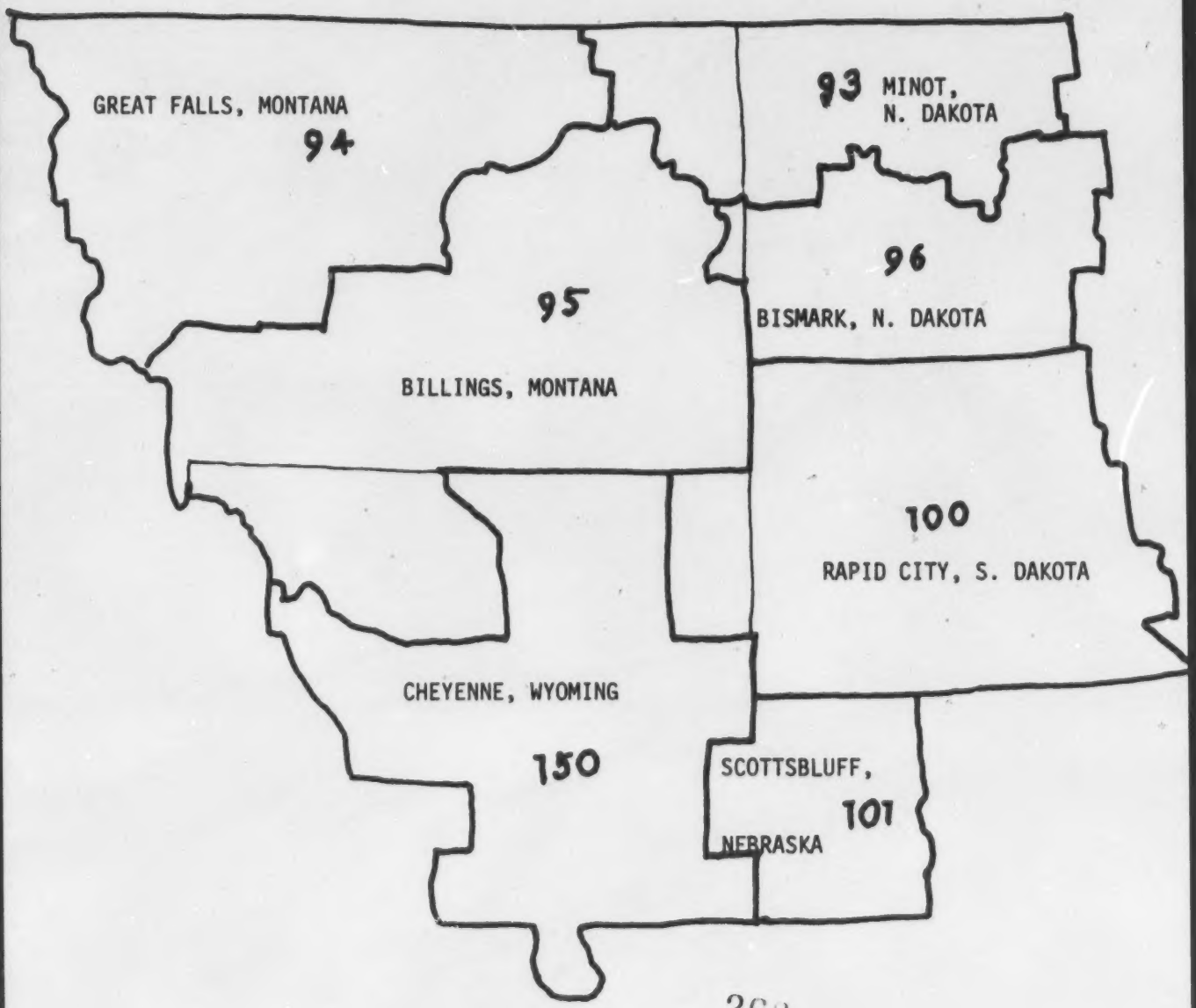


Fig. A.1.c: A Diagram Showing the Abstract Form the Market Areas Seem to Approximate.*

*These Figures have been slightly modified from the original and new captions added.

Item A.2:

This map shows how the United States Bureau of Economic Analysis divides up the Northern Plains Region into economic areas centering on major cities (see Chapter I, p. 47 and Footnote (11), this report).



Item A.3:
This is a "Letter to the Editor" from Colstrip, Montana, the site of two coal-fired electrical generating plants located just twelve miles north of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. This letter appeared in the Billings Gazette, Sunday, October 24, 1976. It was occasioned by the attempt of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe (later successful) to redesignate the air quality status of their Reservation from Class II to Class I. This redesignation could require two more proposed plants at Colstrip to either install expensive pollution control equipment or to locate elsewhere (see Footnote (6), Chapter III above). This letter is included here because it expresses most of the "ethnocentric" (our way is better) attitudes mentioned in the "Preface" to Chapter III (see especially p. 109 above).

Teeny-weeny pollution

The front page story in the Oct. 16 Gazette "3 utilities sue in Colstrip case" is a case in point where when big companies do do something for themselves, Montana, the U.S. and us workers, they get stung in the nose by some rotten wasps.

I think there is more adding to the stench of this cheese than meets the eye, but for starters the Cheyenne tribe has evidently been reeled in to play an important part.

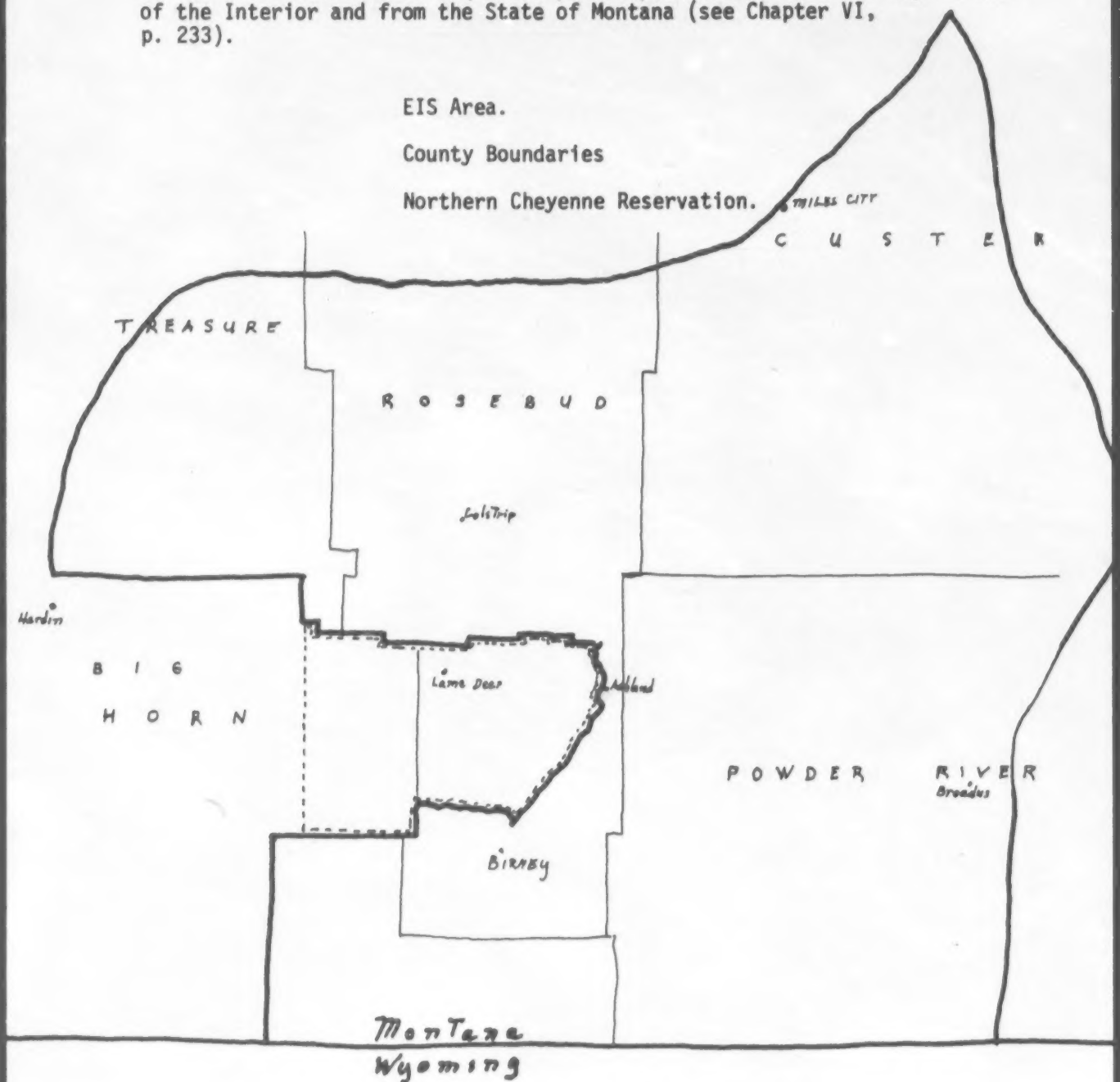
A people who a few generations ago were eating dog meat and sometimes killing their own girl children so they wouldn't have to go through so much grief, this same race of people can now go into a clean store and buy wholesome food, clean bedding etc., use white man's electricity and plumbing. Now they are getting so finicky they can't stand the thought of a few carbon particles or whatever being wafted in the wind.

Religious studies made over Colstrip territory have reportedly (and I believe them) got the message that nothing but fasting, stringent dedication and prayer can alleviate the spiritual pollution that comes from little old Lame Deer up here and their peyote rituals and other attitudes and activities that evidently come out as bad as the demon worship in darkest Africa.

If you ask me, that pollution in the spiritual realm more than cancels out the teeny-weeny pollution that would come out of Colstrip power plants 3 and 4. After all, the Manson "family" were fanatics about ecology, too.

Not too long ago, we had a beautiful full rainbow in a full arc that framed, the "smokestacks" of plants 1 and 2 in a great panoramic sight. I am inclined to view this as a good omen and benediction from the Great Spirit in the sky.

Item A.4:
Map showing the approximate boundaries of the primary impact-generating area for the Northern Powder River Basin EIS in Summer, 1977. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe will be impacted by the many industrial activities planned for this area (see Figure 2, p. 14, above), which surrounds its Reservation on three sides. Nevertheless, the Tribe was not asked to participate in preparing the EIS, nor even to contribute to it, until on its own initiative it requested participation from the U.S. Department of the Interior and from the State of Montana (see Chapter VI, p. 233).



Item A.5:

D.W. Schindler, "The Impact Statement Boondoggle" in Science (Vol. 192, 7 May 1976), p. 509. Reproduced here with permissions from the Author and from Science. Copyright 1976 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

THE IMPACT STATEMENT BOONDOGGLE

The demand for "impact statements" evaluating the environmental consequences of human activities in natural ecosystems seemed a natural outgrowth of the rise in ecological awareness of the 1960's. This idea, designed to protect our natural resources, has to some extent pacified the demands of ecologically concerned citizens. These citizens should have another look. Having seen the results of many of these impact studies, and evaluated proposals for second-generation studies, I believe that the idea has backfired.

Many politicians have been quick to grasp that the quickest way to silence critical "ecofreaks" is to allocate a small proportion of funds for any engineering project for ecological studies. Someone is inevitably available to receive these funds, conduct the studies regardless of how quickly results are demanded, write large, diffuse reports containing reams of uninterpreted and incomplete descriptive data, and in some cases, construct "predictive" models, irrespective of the quality of the data base. These reports have formed a "gray literature" so diffuse, so voluminous, and so limited in distribution that its conclusions and recommendations are never scrutinized by the scientific community at large. Often the author's only scientific credentials are an impressive title in a government agency, university, or consulting firm. This title, the mass of the report, the author's salary, and his dress and bearing often carry more weight with the commission or study board to whom the statement is presented than either his scientific competence or the validity of his scientific investigation. Indeed, many agencies have found it in their best interests to employ a "traveling circus" of "scientists" with credentials matching these requirements. As a result, impact statements seldom receive the hard

scrutiny that follows the publication of scientific findings in a reputable scientific journal.

The advancement of the scientific method is also in jeopardy. First-rate natural scientists are finally learning to set and test hypotheses and to study mechanisms and processes that are important in natural systems, rather than simply to survey and catalog the systems. They are, however, usually not attracted to the undefined scientific problems, complex committee hierarchy, and unrealistic time constraints that are usually attached to impact studies. Instead, such studies are often done by scientists who cannot successfully compete for funding from traditional scientific sources. In general, their methods are ancient, descriptive "textbook" techniques, which do not reflect either the many scientific advances of the past decade or the problems unique to the study undertaken. The same tired old bag of tricks is applied to studies of every type, regardless of the type of impact anticipated. The type of data generated cannot usually be extrapolated from one ecosystem to another, because studies were not planned with that as a major objective. As a result, each new study begins with little or no logical background, and no master plan for studying environmental processes is emerging. How well a particular study is funded is a direct function of the value of the resource to be affected, with no consideration given to the amenability of the system to study or to the quality of science which might result. Enormous sums are therefore spent with little or no scientific return.

The continued application of such studies can have several effects, including increased prices for natural resources; a declining credibility for environmental science and scientists; a reduction in the overall quality of scientific personnel; and the degradation of our natural resources, not as the result of the direct activities of industry and government, but because of the

ineffectual groping of environmental scientists.

If we are to protect both our resources and scientific integrity, environmental scientists must seek to put their studies on a scientifically credible basis--to see that problems, terms of reference, funding, time constraints, reports, and conclusions are all within a bona fide scientific framework.